

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

NOVEMBER 22, 1982

\$1.25

## After Brezhnev

—  
**Yuri Andropov:  
From the KGB  
to the Kremlin**

—  
**New directions for  
East and West**

—  
**The Soviets'  
troubled empire**

**Leonid  
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

**Maclean's**

NOVEMBER 23, 1982 VOL. 91 NO. 47

# COVER

## After Brezhnev

For the past 15 years he has been in charge of the dreaded KGB security empire. By all accounts he is one of the shrewdest members of the Soviet leadership—as well as one of the most enigmatic. Now, with the death of Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov has suddenly been elevated to the highest post in the Soviet Union. —Page 36

COVER PHOTO BY GUY AROCH



## A shiny new Anik bird

Popped into space by the shuttle, the Anik satellite introduces the age of the backyard dish antenna and a host of international jurisdictional squabbles. —Page 38



## Glitter but little substance

Pierre Trudeau's glittering welcome to France marked a happy upturn in Canada's Gallic relations after 15 years of chill, but it did little for trade. —Page 22



## Dynamism conquers decor

The sets and costumes of the National Ballet's production of *Don Quixote* were so garish that all the dancers could do was provide some fee showmanship. —Page 60

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## A new arctic friend

Within the past year—and to the surprise of many Canadians—Canada has begun to become more than just a physical presence on Greenland's horizon. —Page 82



## LETTERS

### Eying the CBC

As a supporter of the CBC, I am most concerned about the programming cuts it has announced to meet its current cash-flow shortfall due to a drop in revenues (Doris Jensen on the CBC, *Media*, Nov. 1). The programs that the CBC is cutting are among the best for both young and adult audiences alike. I recall that when the *Sixty-and-Five* program was announced CBC management was able to squeeze it, literally hours before June 86, as 15.5 per cent increase. Assuming that 900 management employees averaged annual salaries of \$37,500 before June 86, the excess income they grabbed was \$1 million. Combine this with the \$6 million they claim they are fed from "administrative cuts" and we have requested a \$16-million shortfall without having to touch programming. I believe the CBC should be called to account for this.

—VIVIAN WALSH  
Thursfield, Ont.

I am afraid I have no tears to shed for the present. Emotional predilection of the CBC as reflected in your article *Blood and Tears of the CBC* (*Media*, Oct. 26). The extravagance of the expenses is outrageous.

—HELEN J. AUBREY  
Chelms, Ont.

### Packington vs. the Dragon

I read your article on Peter Packington's political ambitions (*Body Check* and *Big Brother*, Canada, Nov. 1) with some consternation. Does he really see himself as some latter-day St. George come to do battle against the Grits?

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CBC Vice-President Peter Packington

Dragon? Presumably Packington takes himself extremely seriously, unless he is one of those Tories who are secretly horrified at the prospect of achieving real power. Here is some sound advice from John DeFeucher: "There are more votes on Main Street than on Bay Street." To win, Packington will have to tell himself to the unemployed worker in Scarborough, the laid-off outworker in Windsor and the bankrupt Franco-fancier. I do not think that flying kites and father and making speeches is enough. The Canadian people have had enough of rich, charismatic millionaires.

—PHILIP REEDS  
Calgary

### The straps a barbaric device

Your Nov. 8 *Educators* article, *The Return of the Straps*, might well have been entitled *The Return of Schoolhouse Barbarism*. It is worth noting that, at a time when increasing numbers of schoolchildren are being raised in a family context characterized by instability and powerlessness, the Calgary school board's insensitive response appears to be repression. This uncorroborating of blame to the individual child totally ignores the impact of alienating school structures on behavior and their effect in causing many acts of student delinquency. Should the Calgary division inform other boards across Canada, a new Dark Age will truly be upon us.

—ROBERT K. HOWE  
Windsor, Ont.

It is a sick society that allows children to be the victims of physical abuse, whether by a parent or a teacher acting in loco parentis. Inflicting pain on a child is a terrible thing under any circumstance.

—PATRICIA PATRICKSON  
Vancouver

## PASSAGES

DEED: Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, 73, president of the Soviet Union and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, of a heart attack, in Moscow (page 20)

DEED: Mary Van Stolk, 51, author of several books on violence in the family, founder of the children's rights organization Tree, and environmentalist, on Oct. 18, in Montreal, of cancer. The Tree Foundation, which announced Van Stolk's death last week, plans to complete two unfinished works: one about pollution, and the other a university textbook on child abuse.

DEED: Amelia Road, 76, noted entomologist and longtime chief curator of zoology at Chicago's Field Museum, of pneumonia, following hospitalization for a broken hip, in Annapolis, Fla. Road was born in Knoxville, N.S., and, after graduating from Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S. and Cornell, he made expeditions in Madagascar, New Guinea, El Salvador and the Philippines.

DEED: English novelist, literary critic and editor Frank Swettenham, 86, in a hospital near his paternal Craghead, Berke, home. The author of *Knockers*, *Goodbye* and about 50 other novels began his career as an office boy with a newspaper at age 16. Among his close friends and supporters were novelists H.G. Wells and Arnold Bennett.

HONORED: Michael Pitfield, 45, the clerk of the Perry Council who announced his resignation earlier this month, by being made a Companion of the Royal Victorian Order, by Queen Elizabeth II. The award, which was bestowed at a dinner given in Windsor Castle, recognizes Pitfield's contribution to the Canadian public.

DEED: Maj. Henry Thackthwaite, 75, a co-ordinator of French resistance fighters during the Second World War, in a Richmond, England, nursing home. Thackthwaite was a member of the British commando troop called Special Operations Executive and also served as a liaison between it and Free French leader Gen. Charles de Gaulle, the Royal Air Force and the cipher department.

CONVICTED: Claude Dubois, 45, Claude Dubois, 46, and Yvon Beilte, 45, of first-degree murder in the 1975 Montreal nightclub slaying of Richard Desrosiers and Jacques-Armand Bruneau. A Quebec Police Commission inquiry into organized crime identified Dubois and serves of his eight brothers as major underworld gang leaders.

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## Joining the United States

In your Oct. 18 issue, Peter Newman talks about C.D. Howe (Taking a Page From Howe's Book, *Business Watch*) as the post-Depression "founder of industrialized, and Americanized, Canada." He should have said "Americanized." In the same issue, Russ Cohen suggests that one of the Eight Steps to Salvage the Nation (Cohen) is to sell Air Canada, Petro-Canada, Dome etc., to raise cash if we do not watch out, a new C.D. Howe might just provide over such a salient of the little we have left... (especially to the Americans). We must decide that either we should remain a nation with a modicum of independence or we should forget about it and go the whole way to join the United States.

—MICHAEL P. PARDOUSS,  
Montreal

## Stopping the highway carnage

I am writing to you about your Oct. 18 feature article, *A Solemn Plea* at *Drunk Drivers*. To call it "appalling" is at 66 per cent of the drivers killed last year had blood alcohol levels above the legal limit is a gross understatement. Obviously we need severe penalties to stop this carnage on our highways. If the driver knew, especially the younger driver, that he would forfeit his vehicle, he would think twice before drinking and driving. Also, a mandatory jail sentence with publicity would be a more effective deterrent, especially for the more affluent drunk, than a mere fine or a license suspension. There are ways to stop the carnage, but it will take some politicians with guts, and few seem to be forthcoming.

—MICHAEL WHITE,  
Dorchester, N.S.

## A matter of honor

Prime Minister Imeko Senda of Japan resigned here as the Japanese economy was not performing well (The *Pinkmen Step Down*, *World*, Oct. 20). If only our Canadian politicians had the same sense of honor. —KEVIN LINDSEY,  
Melbourne, Australia

## The rights of the unmarried

Regarding *On Judging in Our Bedrooms* (Cohen, Oct. 18) I have always believed that romance to the courts is the right of all Canadian citizens, not merely those who fall in with the Moral Majority. Barbara Amiel states that she feels a common-law relationship should be based on what is "fair" between two people when they first agree to live common law. She errs if she believes that this first agreement will remain constant and that years later



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everything will be as it once was or that people breaking up will be "reasonable" with one another. But she seems to think that, if property has been accumulated and disputes do arise on separation, such disputes should not be settled in the courts. Presumably, then, these lesser people should take matters into their own hands and have a shootout.

—MARIE DE ROE,  
Calgary

The fact that common-law relationships exist is not sufficient reason for a society to sanction them. Indeed, by trying to judge a fair settlement, our courts endorse the practice. The world would be far better off if people visited their ministers instead of their lawyers.

—BRUCE BOGDANSKI,  
Toronto, Ont.

Bertha Ainslie's Victorian analysis of Becker in Pettibone shatters her picture of biased humanity to reveal a profit and mean-tempered underbelly. On a more trivial level, perhaps, she also demonstrates ignorance of the minimum formal requirement of business contracts. The fact is that, in the Becker case, the existence of a male-female relationship operated as an obstacle to the claimant. Had the circumstances in Becker's case been modified so that both parties were of the same sex, the courts would have made short work of the defence that no formal contract had been assigned to crystallize a business partnership.

—TIMOTHY CONLEY,  
Toronto

## Changing attitudes in unions

Regarding your Sept. 27 cover story, *Labour's Big Answer* when Peter Warrin and his fellow union leaders hold the threat of a strike over the heads of their employers while negotiating, they call it "collective bargaining." When the employer threatens to shut down the company if the union does not modify its demands, Warrin calls it "supersede blackmail." What is the difference? Knowing the irresponsible militancy out of the Canadian unions is long overdue. With their strike-threat tactics they have forced their employers to live with ever increasing inflationary demands without showing any concern whatsoever for productivity, viability or ability to compete. Until this attitude of our Canadian union leaders changes, there can be no real, permanent recovery in Canada.

—ER CAMERON,  
Whitehorse

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is sent to the Editor. Reader's response: 147 University Ave., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7

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## Fallout from nuclear ghosts of the past



St. George (above): atomic explosion after activities that led to faulty voters

By Walter Stewart

When explorer Edmund Byrne took a good look at southwest Utah for the first time in 1875, he noted, "Well, it's a hell of a place to lose a cow." It was, and is, a land of red clay, sagebrush, cactus, high hills and carved valleys. It is also a hell of a place for a 50-billion lawsuit against the government of the United States, a lawsuit likely to test, among other things, what right a government has to deceive its people about the effects of radiation from atomic tests.

It was the Mormons who settled the area around the turn of the century, moving down from Salt Lake City, the

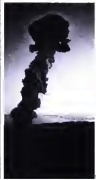
state capital and the world center of Mormon faith. They whitened the best, fought the dust, and roamed the outlaws—Burrhead Cassidy, Big Sam George Curry, the Sundance Kid and the rest of their ilk operated for a time out of Hobbs's Roost, northeast of the region. The Mormons planted cotton and consequently called the district "D'die." They raised cattle and children and built the city of St. George (current population 15,000) around a white Mormon temple.

The Mormons are solid people, conservative, patriotic, upright, slow to change and slower to anger. They are strong on obedience and reverence for constituted authority. That is what made them so slow to move when their

land became a dumping ground for the fallout from atom bomb tests during the 1950s and 1960s. Lane Wright, a slender, polite 30-year-old college student, explains gravely: "Hence the government's in a tizzy of the Mormon faith. When the government told us there was nothing to worry about, we believed them. Would a government lie?"

Well, yes. Would and did, apparently. For one thing, on May 13, 1953, a 30-kiloton blast was set off on the dry lake bed of Yucca Flat, 250 km due west of St. George. It was code-named Upshot-Knothole Harry (Dirty Harry for short) and it erupted in a brilliant orange flash, followed by the familiar purple mushroom cloud. Some of the people of St. George went up on the hillside suitable down to watch the blast because nobody told them not to. A few hours later gray ash began to sift over the Black Hill west of the city, it drifted across the lawns, slung to laundry on the lines, burned the skin of people in the streets. Frank Skutumpah, a retired public health service employee who was monitoring the effects of radiation on St. George, was told to shower and throw away his clothes, but the town's citizens were merely instructed to wash the ash off their automobiles. They were urged not to worry.

A less trusting people might not have been so easily reassured. Thousands of sheep died mysteriously after Dirty Harry's dreadful drifts blanketed the landscape, and a group of ranchers



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# "Gulf Canada's northern navy makes jobs by the thousands from Victoria to Lachine"

**John Loh**  
Manager, Beaufort Sea Drilling System  
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Ninety-eight cents of every dollar taken in by Gulf Canada is ploughed back into running our business in Canada. And this spending creates jobs. An excellent example: We will spend \$320 million in Canada to build ships, supply bases, and to buy other materials for the Beaufort Sea Drilling System.

Shipyards in Victoria and Vancouver are busy working on three vessels to be used by Gulf in the Beaufort Sea. Construction of the superstructure for one of the drilling platforms is making hundreds of jobs in Lachine. When Gulf Canada has the ready money to invest, Canadian pocketbooks benefit from coast to coast.

"How much money do the oil companies need?" many Canadians ask.

Gulf's Beaufort Sea Drilling System is just one of many projects needed to make Canada self-sufficient in oil, sometime in the 1990s. The amount of money needed to finance these projects is enormous - \$200 billion according to a Canadian Petroleum Association estimate - but so will be the benefits to Canadians. The money invested in Canada will generate orders for material and equipment, create jobs right across the country.

In spite of recent measures by Ottawa and the producing provinces to soften the impact of the National Energy Program and the Federal/Provincial energy agreements, the indus-



John Loh is Manager of the innovative Beaufort Sea Drilling System project. He was born in China, received his B.Sc. in Petroleum Engineering from the University of Oklahoma. John enjoys working with fine wood, building handcrafted furniture. He is one of the more than 20,000 Canadians who make up Gulf Canada.

try's problem is a shortage of cash for re-investment.

One Gulf Canada executive put it this way: "I have no objection to their taking excess profits. But let us make the profits first, then tax us."

"Why don't you borrow?" ask some, including the Canadian government. Our answer: Because the amount needed, and the risks involved are just too great. More of the funds for re-investment must come from higher earnings.

**Gulf Canada's largest ever investment creates thousands of Canadian jobs.**

To operate in the hostile environment of Canada's Beaufort Sea, new generation drilling platforms were designed by Gulf



Gulf Canada's Beaufort Sea Drilling System is designed to combat those Arctic winters - ice, gales and bitter cold. In Vancouver's Burnaby Yarrow shipyard, the welder shown above is working on one of two massive ice-breakers that will be among the most powerful and modern in the world. Construction of ships, supply bases and other materials for the Beaufort Sea Drilling System is putting thousands of Canadians to work and feeding \$320 million into the Canadian economy.

employees and consultants and are now under construction.

The living quarters and superstructures for one of these innovative drilling platforms are being built by Dominion Bridge-Sulzer in Lachine, Quebec. The \$33 million they will cost is more than we would have paid a foreign supplier. However, John Loh explains "We believe we must help develop the skills in Canada needed for future offshore oil projects."

**Changes in the National Energy Program can help create even more jobs.**

Gulf believes that the National Energy Program should be further revised to encourage investment in Canada's oil and gas industries. Canada has the natural resources to make it one of the wealthiest countries in the world. With the cash to invest, companies like Gulf Canada can help put people to work - by the thousands - all across Canada.



In a "Name-the-Ships" contest sponsored by Gulf Canada Resources Inc., students in Beaufort Sea area schools sent in hundreds of suggestions. Susan Alechak shown above won \$150 for naming one of the supply vessels, *Ithakak* (fish) and her school received \$300.

For more technical information, diagrams and data on Gulf's new Beaufort Sea Drilling System write to: Mr. R.H. Fenner, Director - Public Affairs, Gulf Canada Limited, 130 Adelaide Street W., Toronto, Ontario, M5H 3R6.



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brought a lawsuit against the government, charging that radium had caused the damage. But a court dismissed the case in 1950, ruling that it was "without foundation." It seemed that the government's "nothing" assurance was based on fact. It was only in August that another court, acting on new information, charged that federal officials had suppressed evidence and intimidated witnesses in order to win that 1950 suit—back then, everything had seemed in order.

Still, there were other disturbing signs. The *Comptroller*, a John Wayne

movie, was filmed out of St. George in 1954, and Wayne, costar Susan Hayward and director Dick Powell have all since died of cancer. But who could tell if they were victims of the cumulative, long-lasting effects of low-level radiation or some other cause? With cancer, there is no smoking gun. Besides, there was the steady drum roll of government reassures, rife with nothing solemnity: "An unusual safety record has been set. No one inside the Nevada test site has been injured as a result of the 36 test detonations. No one outside the test site in the nearby region of potential expo-



Thomas' 'accidental' death by cancer

sure has been hurt." That was the official assurance in 1953, when the test series was less than one-third completed. It sounded authoritative. It was scripted.

Behind the scenes, however, very different information was being advanced—and suppressed. Documents made public in 1979 showed a long-term pattern to confuse and mislead the public about the dangers of fallout. In a memo produced before a congressional committee in 1970, an official of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) wrote in 1950 about then President Dwight Eisenhower suggesting that "we leave 'thermonuclear' out of press releases and speeches, the 'atomic' and 'hydrogen'." The president says, "Keep them confused as to fusion and fission." In another memo an official wrote, "People have got to learn to live with the facts of life and part of the facts of life is fallout." Yet another memo argued, "We must not let anything interfere with these tests—nothing."

In 1963 an internal AEC study suggested that radiation doses to humans through were 100 times as high as had been officially reported; the committee that did the study was asked to suppress it because, an AEC official said, "The public would know they have not been told the truth." In 1965 a health services study termed up "acute" deaths by cancer in the region, for which there was no explanation. The only common link was that the victims lived in the area affected by low levels of radiation from atomic fallout. The study was buried. With key evidence suppressed,

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there was only a trickle of stories, rumors, memories of the mysterious deaths that followed on the heels of the earth quakes and dark clouds that marked the more than 100 above-ground tests between 1961 and 1963—27 of which left a radioactive trail across St. George. In fact, it was not until 1977 that a smoldering rage began among the people of the city.

It started in the cluttered living room of Irene Thomas on Talismania Street, a stone's throw from the Mormon temple. Thomas is a tiny, extensible, angry woman of 56—"hot," as the natives, "the

rocking-chair, cookie-baking type of grandma." She has been in a rage since the day in 1977 when she learned that her youngest daughter, Michelle, a dancer, had developed a mysterious muscle disease. "Two of my other daughters and a daughter-in-law had to have hysterectomies; one had three stillbirths; my husband has skin cancer. My family was hurt. My neighbors were dying and, Lady God, here was the government saying there was nothing to worry about."

When a television newscaster read yet another statement that all was well,

Thomas put aside her pottery—she is an award-winning artisan—and took up her cudgils. "I said to myself, 'Anyone can stand on my doorstep and say that all is not well. Why don't I tell somebody about it?'" She drew a crude map of the one-block area around her home and pinpointed as the 36 victims of cancer and cancer-like illnesses. Fourteen of the 36 are now dead. "These were not old people," she says. "They were the young, the bright. My doctor and his wife died, my neighbor and her husband died, people were afflicted all around me and they kept saying, 'It's all right. It wasn't all right.'"

She wrote to the television station, to the newspaper, to politicians, scientists, even to then President Jimmy Carter. She ranted such persistent and particular hell—a quite uncharacteristic hell in a Mormon community, where women are not encouraged to be angry—that others became interested and then enraged. "The media took notice," Thomas says with grim satisfaction, "and then the politicians and the lawyers stirred up."

Stewart Udall, a former secretary of the interior, came to see her and enlisted his Phoenix law firm. A local law firm set up meetings at Thomas', where growing piles of press clippings and government pamphlets were swept off the dining room table so people had something on which to make notes. A Committee of Survivors was formed, and, eventually, a lawsuit was filed.

Now, that lawsuit is being heard in Salt Lake City, 400 km north of St. George, in the dark-paneled, high-ceilinged courtroom of Federal District Judge Bruce S. Jenkins. It envelopes 1,132 plaintiffs from Nevada, southern Utah and northern Arizona, claiming \$2 billion in damages. Before the court are 36 representative cases, most on behalf of the families of the dead—only five represent living victims—in a trial that began in 1987. It will probably end in early December. Then, Judge Jenkins, a dark, dry, stoic man, will retire for some weeks to study the evidence before rendering a verdict. If the plaintiffs win, they expect the government to settle claims out of court. If not, the case will go to appeal and could wind up in the U.S. Supreme Court years from now.

The plaintiff's case is two-pronged: the first is the personal, often agonized, testimony of the victims, their friends and families; the second, the daily dry drizzle of the experts. Mrs. Thomas was not part of the plaintiff's case. "I would make a terrible witness," she says. "I'm too angry to talk straight." She did what she could do when she started the suit in the first place.

The painful personal testimony comes

# YES NO

"I admire the Queen and the British, and treasure the heritage they have given us, but I think it's ridiculous that every time the government tries to draw back from that traditional relationship a little (if only because it's 1982 and not 1862) it is accused of offering another Liberal sop to Quebec."

—Peter Trueman on Dominion Day/Canada Day



"Canada is not more independent by changing the name of its birthday from Dominion Day to Canada Day. It is simply a country where revisionism like this betrays a shallowness of spirit, a kind of petting-pottery adorning up our linguistic heritage, to suit the schemes of politicians who have no poetry in their souls."

—Jan Tennant on Dominion Day/Canada Day

Peter Trueman and Jan Tennant have independent points of view; and the liberty to express them. This is vital to Global News. Although they sometimes disagree, they share the overall objective of the Global News Team.

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from such people as Jo Ann Workman, Martha Lund and Elmer Pelotti. Workman, 48, confined to a wheelchair with inflexible paralysis and with a growth hat on one cheek from cancer treatment, said she went out on the hill above St. George to watch one atomic explosion and "I was burned to a crisp. I was a bright, shiny red. I never had anything like it before. Even my eyes were burning." When she scolded her hair afterward, it came away from her scalp in strips, and, lifting her wig in court, she showed Judge Jenkins patches of her still-burned scalp.

Lund, 38, a ranch housewife, told the court: "We would see the flash and then a few minutes later hear the rumbling of the earth. Then the cloud would cover us." Minutes formed on her children's skin, and one of them died, later, of leukemia. "We were like poison pigs, but people come out to check games pigs. No one came out to us."

Pelotti, 62, a St. George storekeeper who lost his wife, sister, sons and eight other relatives to cancer, testified, "We have been wrongly used by government. They led us to us about the dangers." He produced a 1955 Atomic Energy Com-

mission handbook containing a cartoon of a dog pointing nervously out from a doghouse and the slogan YOUNG AMERICA IS NOT TO BE MURDERED ABOUT FALLOUT.

The expert witnesses argued that the government knew the tests were dangerous and warned its own officials but made no attempt to warn the public for fear of a reaction that would curtail the tests.

To all this, the government response is, "Prove it." It is not enough to show there was radiation—which the government's witnesses say was within then allowable levels anyway—the plaintiffs must show that the atom blasts were the "proximate cause" of the damage.

That is not an easy task. Few people expect a government to admit that its activities have tended to fast-track the voters, but the hard edge of the official response has upset some of the half-dozen lawyers representing the plaintiffs. "They have been very [cloudy-minded]," complains St. George lawyer MacArthur Wright. "They have raised every roadblock they can."

Henry Gill, the atomic, tooth-whitened Washington lawyer brought down to lead the defense, first tried to get the case short-circuited on the grounds that the atom tests were ordered by the president and could not be subject to civil suit. When that argument failed, he tried to have the case killed because it had not been brought within two years of the 1959 date, when, he says, the plaintiffs should have known that radiation had caused cancer in the area. They violated the statute of limitations, he said, to which Charles Bell, a plaintiff lawyer, responds that "It is a marvelous irony that a government that deliberately misled the public for so long is saying, 'Well, they should have known sooner.'"

The stakes in the trial are high for the plaintiffs, money and vindication for their lawyers, money and prestige. Under U.S. law, six plaintiff lawyers, now suing without pay, are entitled to collect 25 per cent of any award. This does not mean that they are likely to collect one-quarter of \$1 billion. The claim is mostly wishful thinking still, they could become rich.

Finally, for the government, there is money (the taxpayer's), prestige and, most important, credibility. The last point is likely to be lost no matter how the case is resolved. The nub of the plaintiffs' case is that a long-term pattern of willful deception was practiced as a populace predisposed to trust its government. However Judge Jenkins rules, the people of southwest Utah are unlikely to return to the naivete of three decades ago. As Irma Thomas puts it: "Surely Gus, we were such suckers. Never again." ☐



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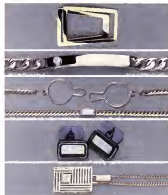
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## Pursuing the 'gay plague'

When the disease now known as AIDS, or acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, first appeared in the United States 10 months ago, it was popularly labelled the "gay plague." But, in fact, Canadian statistics have since confirmed that the disease is not restricted to homosexual

men and that the numbers of people afflicted hardly constitute a plague. So far, there have been 14 confirmed cases of the disease in Canada. Ten of them were diagnosed in Montreal, five among recent Haitian immigrants. Of the Haitians, two have been heterosexual men, two homosexual and one a woman of

united sexual preferences. Toronto—which has the country's largest gay population—has reported only two confirmed cases.

Still, there is no questioning the seriousness of the illness: nine of the 14 Canadian victims have died. For the others the prognosis "is not very good at all," according to Dr. Gordon Jenson, a federal health department official who has been compiling statistics in Ottawa. Because of its often fatal consequences, researchers at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta are racing the clock to come up with an explanation for the baffling disease that has already claimed the lives of 243 victims in the United States. Because the illness attacks the body's natural immunity system, victims are susceptible to a number of other dangerous illnesses, including Kaposi's sarcoma, a rare form of cancer. They are also prone to certain "opportunistic" diseases—including pneumocystis carinii, a parasite lung disease, certain forms of toxoplasmosis, which affects the central nervous system, and tuberculosis. Symptoms vary from extreme lethargy and skin lesions to dry, persistent cough.

AIDS was first reported last year among homosexual men in New York City and urban areas of California. It is particularly prevalent in cities with large gay and immigrant populations, and, because three-quarters of the victims are male homosexuals, researchers have focused on a possible link between AIDS and the stereotypical gay lifestyle. According to Dr. Harry Haverkamp of the Atlanta center, studies have shown that AIDS victims are more likely to have had "lots of sexual partners and some history of drug use."

Researchers in Atlanta are pursuing a number of promising leads. The relatively high incidence of AIDS among intravenous and intravenous drug users suggests that the virus may be transmitted through blood. And the fact that victims of AIDS are also those most susceptible to hepatitis B may provide a vital clue. Though it appeared at one point that organic viruses known as "poppers," sometimes used by male homosexuals to enhance orgasm, had a relationship to AIDS, this notion is still being debated.

Meanwhile, health officials seem confident that there is little chance of AIDS posing a serious threat to the general public. Until the cause of the disease is isolated, however, this possibility greatly concerns people who come into contact with blood—doctors and hospital workers, for instance. Until then, they will have to take small comfort in Dr. Jenson's reassurance that "there will be a breakthrough in Atlanta before long."

—BRYAN BURR in Toronto

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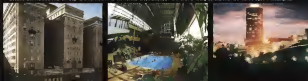
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Q&A: MAUREEN MCTEER

## A short trip revisited

Following in the footsteps of Margaret Trudeau, her flamboyant predecessor, Maureen McTeer, wife of Opposition Leader Joe Clark (prime minister for a fleeting nine months in 1979-80), has written a book. *Exalted Bastardness*, it is a history of the three official homes of Canada's leaders—the prime minister's residence at 21 Sussex Drive, his summer home of Harrington Lake and Stormont, the home of the Opposition leader. A glossy book with colored pictures, it is as stylish and glamorous as Trudeau's two history of facts were scrappy. And deliberately so. Maureen McTeer says she wrote the book in order to alarm with her fellow Canadians the details of these three homes she has inhabited and not so "a vehicle for controversy." McTeer spoke with Maclean's correspondent Judith Thomas in Toronto.

**Maureen's:** One sees such a difference between the political style of yesterday and that of today when one looks at Maryon Pearson, Olive Diefenbaker, Margaret Trudeau and then you. What has this difference meant to you?

**McTeer:** It means a lot to me because it feels like I'm the troubler. Mrs. Diefenbaker had a mother's degree in education and worked, but when she married she stopped her outside career and concentrated on a variety of other interests, all in the accepted traditional mould. During my own thing is not easy because there is an expectation that one will be doing a certain kind of thing.

**Maureen's:** What expectations have you brushed at during in these grand houses on the wife of Joe Clark?

**McTeer:** I have never really followed the conventional mode. There are probably people who say we should do things a certain way—we should serve particular foods and wear certain kinds of clothes and wear certain people. It has been both our strength and our weakness that we don't. I do it my way and

I think my way is as good, if not better, than most of the other ways in the nation's capital.

**Maureen's:** You were only 25 when you moved into Stormont and you have really lived most of your married life in official residences. You once described yourself as "half-shocked" for the first two weeks. Were you rebranded by that house and the responsi-



McTeer: "People tend to kiss you when you're down."

blities that went with it?

**McTeer:** Not really. I had not rebranded a place that large before and I didn't know what resources would be available. I also, quite frankly, had a lot of other things I was more interested about. I was pregnant and not feeling well. There was so much to do, think, you notes to be written. I had missed two months of school and had so much catching up to do. So all these events coming together made the move particularly difficult.

**Maureen's:** You had to leave 21 Sussex Drive only 10 months after you had



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**McTeer:** How did you feel at the time?  
**Joe:** Of course I was sad, for all kinds of reasons, not the least of which was because I thought I had made this place beautiful, a special place. Also, people tend to kick you when you're down, and there was a lot of that going on. It was a bad period, a lot of turmoil. Catherine was having a lot of problems adjusting, so it was a tumultuous time. I had come to know the place and was comfortable there and suddenly we were wandering again. I felt as though we were in a complete void.

**Maclean:** You have said that you have never been hurt by anything as much as by her death.

**McTeer:** No, I don't think I have. It certainly was a very difficult thing to accept. . . . I seemed that things were just getting started, exciting things—Piers MacDonald in the most senior post ever assigned to a woman, Joan Woods going to London. It was as if we were on a train and moving out, and then it stopped.

**Maclean:** Do you have a strong sense that you will once again live at 24 Sussex Drive?

**McTeer:** I don't think about it much. I think, well, we're not here doing what we want to do, and what we do, we do very well and that's it. It's luck is with us, and I certainly will not be from lack of hard work, Joe will be prime minister

again. If luck is not with us, we will go on and do something else.

**Maclean:** Is your book you seem to go out of your way to be kind to Margaret Trudeau, describing her as having "dramatically" decorated the scene. She was not so charitable to you in her book, embracing you for your taste in decoration. Did her criticism bother you?

**McTeer:** I didn't read the book, but people told me about it, needless to say, some much more than others. But what does one have to gain by answer-

*It was not always easy to be what we are—perhaps people felt that Joe and I should be more glamorous*

ing this sort of thing? I think I did a lovely job, but we're very different women. Speaking as a feminist, one of the things that I dislike very much is when women bring other women down. I think I would be lowering myself as a feminist—and really as an individual—if I didn't give credit where it was due. **Maclean:** You experienced history as it happened, especially at Sussex Drive. You come home from taking your bar-

name in 1973 and there were Albert Premier Peter Langford and the energy minister's hammering out an energy agreement. What did you do?

**McTeer:** Well, first of all, I asked Joe's secretary if they were staying for lunch. It was noon, they were supposed to be gone at 10. She said no, they weren't. Then Joe came out and said "everything is going really well, they're not staying for lunch." At 1 p.m. Joe came out and asked, "would we have anything to feed them?" And I said, "Joe! How many are there?" And he said, "No more than 40."

And I can remember thinking only a man! We went to the store and got all these things for a buffet. I stayed in the kitchen slaving around, and at 1:30 lunch was ready for 40 people.

**Maclean:** Your daughter, Catherine, has lived all of her five years in public life, in official residences. How has this affected her?

**McTeer:** I will haven't observed her about elections. Every time she is at election anywhere she keeps saying "Will we have to move?" Only recently has she been able to appreciate that Joe Clark and daddy are the same person.

**Maclean:** Did you find Joe had a private life when you were living in the prime minister's residence?

**McTeer:** It is very difficult—yet have to make your own private life. In fact, for a while I thought there should be a law

requiring that all prime ministers be single just because it destroys your family life. . . . The spouses of prime ministers have to be especially self-sufficient. The position itself makes one of the partners an overwhelmingly dominant, that the other partner has to be completely fulfilled in what he or she is doing. Otherwise, they will go wild, crazy.

**Maclean:** You talk about the price you have to pay for that life.

**McTeer:** It's very high. I can remember one woman saying to me, "Well, it must be nice to have everything redecorated for free." That amused me. I pay for everything and I pay for it in ways that make money look easy—complete loss of privacy, for instance.

**Maclean:** Do you think there is a very great difference between the private you and the public you or the public Joe Clark and the private?

**McTeer:** No, and I think again that has been one of our strengths and weaknesses. It wasn't always fashionable to be what we are—perhaps people thought we should be more glamorous. But I think people have come to realize that, first of all, we aren't boring klutzes from the look-alikes. We have a lot of ability, a lot of presence and we



Clark, Catherine of 24 Sussex. Like a train moving out

have matured a lot. And I think slowly the whole idea that we were not worthy of that kind of position has been diminished.

**Maclean:** Do Canadians are the real Joe Clark, the one who delights you?

**McTeer:** I don't know if I do and I don't know how they could. Joe has a marvellous sense of humor. He must be made of steel, continuing to live what he daily lives through. And he's lived through it well.

**Maclean:** I get the feeling that you are more sensitive to criticism about him than he is.

**McTeer:** We're very different people. That's why we go so well together.

**Maclean:** What do people mean by their movement of your publicity? There has been so much written, and one of the words that inspire to mind is "insatiable."

**McTeer:** Well, I am insatiable.

**Maclean:** Other words were "inspired," "good."

**McTeer:** One of the problems is that people really do think they can form relationships, personal deep links with you. They expect you to smile at if you're made out of plastic. They may not realize they can be a pain in the neck. They come in with a preconceived

notion of you. **Maclean:** Do you find people hostile to you because you are an acknowledged feminist? When you first arrived on the political scene in 1978 there were cartoons viciously depicting you riding Joe

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**McFay:** When you talk to people who do these things you see that they are as sincere. The real story of 1936 was that here we had a man—as head of one of the major political parties in our country, not just from Western Canada, not just from a non-official's family—but a man who assumed, who took for granted as a basic premise, that men and women were equal, and to me that was most exciting. I guess the biggest shock to me was all these people saying you cannot have two strong people together—if the woman is strong, the man is weak. The reality is that to have a strong woman you need a very strong man. Now he does have to deal with it himself, but he has all this peer pressure from people who say that's not the way it's done. We are the couple of the future.

**McFay's:** Did I ever tell you to lose those your scepticism?

**McFay:** I give her full marks—he always said no, I'm not going to change my course and what I believe in for political expediency.

**McFay's:** You seem so confident. You handle public speaking well and you have accomplished a lot in your career. Is there anything in public life that scares you?

**McFay:** The lack of security. You live each day, but you worry. I was remember when Ronald Reagan was shot. I was so afraid I couldn't cope. I was in Joe's office, actually, and I remember closing the door and sitting there completely unable to deal with anything. I was terrified. When the Pope was shot I was driving down a street in Calgary and I threw up. I was upset. I thought, the Pope? What has he ever done to hurt anybody? It's always there—people are being attacked in Ottawa. In some it's all around us.

**McFay's:** You appear to be a very passionate person who is in control most of the time. There have only been a couple of times when you have let down your guard and cried in public. Is it hard for you to keep control?

**McFay:** I don't believe in blustering all over the place. Sometimes the pressures are quite great and events trigger reactions, but I think the whole idea of that control thing is part of the perspective idea of what a diplomat is—tough and hard and extreme and all that sort of it. The 1976 declaration of war was never authentic.

**McFay's:** People are saying you have meltdowns, relaxed. Would you agree?

**McFay:** I don't think I have meltdowns but I think it's inevitable that once you're in the life I have had would make me much more able and used to dealing with every situation. I think meltdowns is the thing that has probably happened to me—that and grey hair. ☐

## COLUMN

# Courting judicial shortsightedness

By Barbara Amiel

Albert Heimerl Kanan is a 10-year-old German-born Canadian citizen who has lived presently in Canada for the past three decades. In June Canadian authorities began proceedings to have him extradited to West Germany, where he is accused of complicity in the murder of some 11,584 Jews in Lithuania during the Second World War. Kanan's lawyer, William Parker, did not challenge any of the evidence presented at the hearings. His immediate concern was to have extradition denied.

One argument raised the issue of the protection of the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms, by emphasizing that a Canadian citizen has the right to "freedom, remains in and leave Canada." Such rights, however, are subject to reasonable limits prescribed by law. Without such common-sense limitations, every citizen in our country would be waiting breathlessly at the penitentiary gates.

More convincingly, Parker argued that Lithuania, where the crimes were said to have taken place, through occupied by Germany during the war, was not part of Germany—which would not give any jurisdiction to the extradition treaty that Canada signed with West Germany in 1977.

Two weeks ago Ontario Supreme Court Chief Justice Gregory T. Evans dismissed all arguments presented by Parker and granted extradition. Evans ruled that Lithuania was part of the Third Reich—a ruling that may come as a shock to Lithuanians and one that raises the frightening prospect of a country illegally occupying territory during a state of war and later using that illegality to justify legal extradition. The case will be appealed.

Undoubtedly the emotionalism surrounding this case will continue. But emotions may sometimes play as false in the sense that the very actions that follow from them may not be in our best interests. The particular case of Heimerl Kanan illustrates the complexity of the more general problem of what to do with so-called war criminals.

On the face of it, the solution is clear. The Reichsmen and their lesser partners in genocide should pay for their crimes. But there are two major problems with this. The first is that in Heimerl Kanan we have a man who has lost his capacity to harm as in any way except one—and that is if we have to subordinate the criminal justice system

to catch him. If, as several pressure groups now want, we have to strain the general rules so that men who have not committed any crimes in Canada can be tried here, if we are to construct special war crimes tribunals that could be used by the government for other purposes, we may catch the Heimerl Kanan among us. If we choose to interpret extradition treaties in ways that may require the bending of the law, we might well be able to send all of them off for trial instead of just those who qualify, but at the cost of equity and justice in our society. We may hand the laws to enable us to prosecute Kanan this time, but the precedent will be with us for all time. Nothing is more dangerous than constructing laws to catch one criminal.

The second problem, from a moral point of view, is even more significant. "It was an Einsatzkommando," said a

**'They acted in the belief that eliminating subhuman and subversive elements was to help the state'**

well-educated German official now based in Canada. "They were hated by everyone," he explained, "even by the regular soldiers." It is in that statement—and the genuine belief in it—that the real tragedy of our case lies. In fact, the Einsatzkommandos could not have been "hated" if a small group, responsible for specific tasks such as killing or enemas of the state, they could not have functioned without the support of regular units. They were in Lithuania not at the behest of their fellow soldiers but because virtually the entire German people were behind them.

It was by a tradition of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence—which puts a high premium on individual responsibility—that a soldier need not execute unlawful orders, but this was not the tradition inculcated in Kanan. At the time, the entire society of Germany was acting under the sway of all-around nationalistic following demagogical orders. There is danger for us today if we allow a sort of post-facto, revisionist myth to be created: the myth that if Kanan was guilty of the crimes with which he is

charged, he was an aberration even in Nazi Germany. That myth is created when you make me men—however guilty—a scapegoat whose symbolic punishment will ensure some civility, or when you induce Germans today to believe that it was the Einsatzkommandos alone who burned down half of the world between 1939 and 1945.

The whole shilling plot about the Third Reich is that, although there may have been individual sadists and psychopaths within the Nazi officer of murder and torture, the majority of the people in it were ordinary men and women simply embodying the good citizenship qualities demanded of them by a murderous state. They acted in the belief that what they were doing—eliminating subhuman and subversive elements—was to help the state. Bad people are, alas, not wicked alone.

What we should try to do is contextualize the idea in ourselves and others that it is permissible to harm people for the sake of ideology and external aggrandizement—or better destruction of the world's resources, which is precisely what a number of world leaders are doing today in China, the Soviet Union and Africa—while we stick glasses with them on the occasion of an Ottawa.

At a side issue, Kanan presents an interesting dilemma for small-litarians who consider rehabilitation to be the only legitimate purpose of punishment. Having lived a lifetime free for the past 30-odd years, Kanan is clearly ready to do anything that furthers the cause. In fact, he has been so good at justice, how are we to come to terms with Kanan? There are certain cases in which real justice can only be done by God himself in justice. Kanan's alleged evil is infinite. It is a just for the remaining few years of his life seems less fitting than having him pointed out as the streets by school children as the possessed used to be in the Middle Ages.

If, as the sums of justice, we create new procedures that may harm justice itself, our efforts become self-defeating. If we reduce the tremendous goals inherent in the idea that prevented this man to act in such a barbaric way, we lose the faith in the law with the man himself, we perpetuate the moral blindness of the Third Reich. It is both our human and moral paradox that real justice may require us to do nothing at all.



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# Trudeau's pitch to Europe

By Marel McDonald

Propelled by presidential ball wads, the Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on his second official visit to France in eight years arrived 30 minutes ahead of schedule. And, even though he was forced to cool his heels circling over Lille, the northern hub of French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, Trudeau later had every reason to conclude that the wait was worthwhile. After 18 years of turbulence on the Ottawa-Paris axis, he arrived to a three-day welcome that combined old and Franco-Canadian relations were firmly back on course. As he put it in a self-satisfied final press conference, "I would qualify them as more than excellent."

The trip turned out to be more extensive than Trudeau had planned. After three days in France he flew to West Germany, where he met his 30-year-old son, Justin, visited Canadian forest lands at Lake and the father-son team spent a glorious 30-minute still covering around a parade square in a powerful Berlin link. Later Trudeau held talks with West Germany's new chancellor, Helmut Kohl, discussing West European defense needs. Then he announced that he would fly to Moscow to attend the funeral of former Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev.

In France, the outgrowth of the trip, Trudeau was a promise from Mauroy that no more French initiatives will visit Quebec without accepting invitations from Ottawa. And, in a key paragraph of his welcome at Lille's city hall, the French prime minister delighted Canadian officials with his tribute to Franco-peace committees outside Quebec—a diplomatic way of acknowledging the federal government's constitutional commitment of official neutrality toward Belgium.

Although Trudeau's trip had been billed as an attempt to heat the drums for Franco-Canadian trade, it produced no economic substance. No deals were signed, nor were any new contracts proposed. For the 34 Canadian business leaders who had been pressured by the



Trudeau, son Justin of Lake MTQ and a Munich saloon

Democrats, to work with the French were dashed—at least temporarily—when Democrats inexplicably decided against flying to France at the last minute. Indeed, the only person who managed to come away from Paris with something concrete was Trudeau's son Justin, who was presented with an electric model of France's high-speed train.

In Bonn Trudeau said that he and Kohl agreed on the need to see the creation of a change in the Krukenberg leadership in order to "make progress on the 100 talks—the intermediate-range nuclear force talks." But East-West negotiations are aimed at re-strengthening deployment of both Soviet and Western intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. But Trudeau stressed that his visit with Kohl was "rather informal meeting." Clearly the closest choreography was reserved for the French visit. There, Trudeau acknowledged the nuclear impact in France's nuclear assistance by putting in a plug for the Socialist's decentralization plan (which he tried to sell to Canadian industrialists) going on to a week-long congress at nearby Vaux Ridge. Trudeau reminded his hosts that while the French might feel an ancestral attachment to Quebec, 60,000

Quebecers consider the office into flying over for his speech to the Franco-Canadian Chamber of Commerce, there was no concern that they had been used merely as puppets. The top-secret talk that had been promised turned out to be a rambling exhortation to the businessmen of both countries to get out and do something about the situation. One of the businessmen was Max Wied, president of Wurdax. "I got my orders to come over, and when they tell me to jump, I ask, 'How high?'" said Wied. "But, frankly, I don't think what is [Trudeau] said changed anything."

In fact, even external affairs department officials privately expressed disappointment with the calm-and-calm outcome. Their original hopes that Canadian businessmen would organize themselves into a committee under Power Corp's dynamic president, Paul

Canadians from every province had paid with their blood in the Battle of the First World War. All the pre-1914 nations merely set the stage for a glittering farewell banquet Trudeau threw in the Hotel Meurice for Mauroy and 146 French and Canadian businessmen. After a meal of Atlantic salmon and French wine, Trudeau named his champagne toast to throw out a "challenge" to Franco-German government to improve their commercial exchanges. Taking up the point, Mauroy pointed out that better business relations were not only up to the French. Indeed, at a time when France is fighting to renege its domestic markets and persuade French investors to keep their developed firms at home, the future of Franco-Canadian relations may no longer be a question of goodwill, but Justin Trudeau's, mere one of timing. ☐



Ottawa and Ottawa only. The question is whether the public can connect politicians

## Ballotting against the bomb

With the disarmament referendum still being staged in consultation across the country, picking up heavy momentum wherever it held, its various supporters are already facing the obvious question: what to do next? They have reason to be jubilant about the results of the ballot so far. At last count about 75 per cent of voters in 34 communities across Canada voted "yes" when asked if they endorsed disarmament. And those numbers will likely hold when the referendum takes place in 22 more centres in British Columbia this week. But the age-old problem of whether public opinion can be converted into public pressure remains. In Ottawa the Trudeau cabinet is starting to feel the pressure in the form of rising opposition to the testing of a new weapon that can be nuclear-armed—the cruise missile.

The outcome of the disarmament ballot has been remarkably uniform. From tiny hamlets to the largest cities, in Chester, N.S., where the referendum campaign began with one young mother who asked the council to put the issue on its ballot, the vote was 78 per cent in favor of disarmament. In Toronto, where there were demonstrators on both sides of the issue, the final tally was roughly the same.

There were exceptions, of course. In Halifax the city council refused to put the question on its ballot, and the daily *Star* editorialized that a disarmament referendum would be a "vote for the armaments." Indeed, the referendum has no legal or binding effect. And there were also complaints that the question, which varied slightly from place to place, typically asking if the

voter supported "the goal of general disarmament" and "mandated the government to work toward that with other governments" in balanced steps, was a nonstarter issue. But Barry St. and arms control proponent Doug Keefe countered that the results "ought to signal to any politicians who are aware that the peace movement is serious. The movement is legitimized, it is growing."

Another arms control advocate, Liberal MP Paul Melnyk, confirms that the issue is finally catching on in the Commons. "A lot of people are identifying the missile with the issue," he declared. According to James Stark, who is spearheading a campaign known as Oper-



The B-2 launched cruise. authorship

tion Disarmament, about 140,000—half the members of the House—now back the referendum. Among that number are 40,333 members of the NDP caucus.

With most of the referendums now complete, Stark is launching the next phase of his campaign toward the final goal: a global referendum was by the United Nations. Stark is intensifying his lobbying on Parliament Hill and pressing other national questions to raise the issue at the UN. For its part, Ottawa has not

## A small but sinister missile

From the belly of a B-2 bomber, the slender cruise missile is suddenly released like a falling leaf. On its own—propelled by a single turbofan engine on a computer-controlled ground-hugging course to its target as far as 2,500 km away—it lands its thin metal skin on its installed in the precision electronic eyes and hands that read the terrain below and steer the missile. What has made the cruise the subject of Canadian concern is the way it makes the trip so stealthy while a nuclear bomb.

The U.S.-designed cruise is smaller partly because of its small size—just three-quarters the size of the V-1 Buzz bomb that Hitler turned on London. At 8.3 m long and with a wingspan of 3.7 m, it could almost fit into a suburbanite's one-car garage. Bore it can be easily loaded and fired from a truck, boat or plane, it is practically impossible for a potential enemy to know how many cruise missiles are in the Western arsenal or where they are deployed. Critics say that could lead to another Soviet arms buildup.

The cruise's other talent is its ability to fly so low that it is difficult to detect. That defending missile cannot easily detect it. Some arms control experts believe that this feature makes the cruise a sneak-attack, first-strike weapon that could upset the nuclear balance between the superpowers. Canadian officials, however, contend that the cruise's slow speed—about the same as a commercial jet liner—rules out its first-strike capability because it could easily be shot down once spotted. According to the Pentagon, air-launched cruise missiles are already being deployed with B-2s at Griffis Air Force base in upstate New York. From there the eight-engined bombers would carry the slender missiles

to the Cold Lake weapons range for experimental flights. Ottawa, finally aware of the test, the Pentagon. But the Canadian side because it matches the rolling, snow-covered ground that the cruise would traverse on a flight into the Soviet Union—whether launched from B-2s over Siberia or from its own bases in Europe.

The hard choice now confronting the Trudeau cabinet is whether to permit the tests in the face of an ever-growing public hostility or risk Washington's wrath by keeping the cruise off Canadian soil. —JOHN HAY in Ottawa

taken a position as a US interventionist.

Stark is also attempting to form an alliance with the radical "Trotsky" movement in the United States, featuring far a mutual and verifiable mutual front by both Washington and Moscow, the US movement recently won an overall 60-per-cent "yes" vote on the issue on ballots in nine states and 20 cities.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his cabinet face a more urgent challenge posed by the peace movement—whether or not to insist with their commitment to permit tests of the US nuclear missile at the Cold Lake Air Weapons Range on the northern Alberta-Saskatchewan border. Canada said, all, per on in the 1979 SALT decision to deploy cruise missiles in Europe, and the government declared last April that it had agreed to Washington's request for a test site.

Last week federal officials said that only a few drafting personnel remained to be resolved—meeting mostly with US obligations to pay the costs of tests—before reaching a so-called umbrella agreement, which would cover weapons tests generally. The still-incomplete document, an official said, stipulates "who is in charge, which is us, and who pays, which is them." It also rules out chemical, biological or nuclear tests. Only after that accord is signed will talks begin on a cruise agreement, officials said.

While officials dither with the fine print, hostility to the cruise, in the Congress and in the country, has grown intense. Trudeau's office has received about 4,000 letters since July, many by angry citizens. The office has received 2,000 favouring disarmament. As many as 20 per cent of Trudeau's own Liberal caucus oppose the tests, and several of his ministers are opposed. The issue is expected to be launched to Trudeau in a caucus meeting as early as this week. The Conservatives, meanwhile, are divided on the issue.

An even Trudeau's fiercest opponents point out, the prime minister must eventually choose in the testing of the new and lethal weapon with his own vigorous personal plea for arms control. Recently, he has taken the orthodox NATO line that NATO arms must be strengthened to force the Soviets to negotiate with the US. He has another tack when addressing the UN special disarmament session last June: "I start with the proposition that all new weapons systems are potentially destabilizing," he said. "Trudeau's instability is the fact that he has no such sense." The anti-cruise movement will, if nothing else, force Trudeau to re-examine the meaning of his own words.

—JIM HAY in Ottawa, with Gordon Logan in Calgary, Stephen Archer in Vancouver and Michael McEwen in Washington.

## ONTARIO

# The cops who went to dinner

In recent years stories of police brutality have regularly spilled to the surface in Toronto. Still, as matter how many lawyers and civil libertarians rallied to the side of the alleged victims, the charges were almost invariably based on the word of criminals—and denied by members of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force. But, in the past two weeks in a Toronto court, many of the more allegations have been raised, with a striking difference: this time they are coming from two policemen.

In a lengthy series of videotaped con-

versations, two members of the Toronto force suggest that some police beat suspects, that they regularly lie in court and that they foot the rules of the criminal justice system to get convictions. The comments, made at seven lunch and dinner meetings, were closely and minutely taken down by lawyers who have been vigorously disavowed. But a hidden microphone and video camera that recorded 37 hours of the talks have left a trail of an embarrassment all the way to the office of Ontario Attorney General Jeffrey Hoffer.

The bizarre series of events that led

to the taping began more than two years ago when police raided the apartment of 48-year-old Toronto stockbroker Neil Proverbs. They found him crouched over a shotgun and charged him with possessing a dangerous weapon. Proverbs became so convinced that the police were trying to frame him for their testimony at the subsequent preliminary hearing that he embarked on an elaborate scheme to prove that they were lying. At part of his plan, Proverbs persuaded the owner of the Capriccio Tuscano restaurant to allow him to set up videotaping equipment in his restaurant. Proverbs then hired Sgt. George Reynolds (who had arrested him) and Sgt. William Bullock, both veterans of the elite intelligence squad, so the restaurant by suggesting that he had information about a \$60-million heroin deal. Although the drug deal never existed, Proverbs led the two policemen to discuss supposedly routine police tactics over food and drinks.

In court, the police officers insisted that what they said on tape was concocted to humiliate Proverbs and gain his confidence so that he would tell them about the heroin deal.

Proverbs' defence lawyers in showing that the police lied at his hearing. But the main weapons issue is whether or not the two policemen were telling the truth about police conduct in the long-guarded confidentiality of the restaurant. For his part, Toronto Police Chief Jack Anderson dismissed the tapes as insufficiently substantive to be used as evidence in court. The tapes are suggesting amalgams of every sort of defence lawyer has suggested on the part of policemen. Among the most striking statements in the officers' claim that two-thirds of the testimony they give in court is phoney. Sgt. Bullock on the tapes: "We tried to have lying to a profession." They also said on tape that they fabricate evidence when it is necessary to get a conviction. They claimed that, if a girl said she was wearing a green dress while being raped but she said in court, "We'd go out and buy her one if we have to, to get her into court." They even suggest on tape that some judges know that this kind of alleged misrepresentation takes place. In one portion of the tapes relating the police tactics, a policeman named Sgt. Leonard Winter, they bragged that police can get anyone to sign a confession about almost anything, because, he said, Reynolds: "You don't have to be an overly intelligent person to realize that you can sign the paper, the police stage."



Proverbs signs the paper, slips the police

Some of the most provocative allegations involve alleged political interference by Attorney General Roy McEwen. Bullock said on tape that a police investigation into the Toronto waste-disposal industry was hampered after McEwen discovered the name of one of his friends on a police list. As he has constantly done throughout the trial, Reynolds also denied that this was true.

McEwen has videotaped calls for a public inquiry, saying: "The view of the Metropolitan Toronto Police is there was no substance to any of his [Proverbs'] allegations." Although the attorney general's office evolved an edited, five-hour version of the tapes eight weeks ago, it was only after the contents of the tapes were revealed in The Toronto Star in September that McEwen set up an investigation by the Ontario Provincial Police.

Toronto lawyer Clayton Ruby charges that the cops do not have sufficient independence and that McEwen should not be in a position to decide whether a public inquiry is to be held. Ruby also argues that the brutality allegations they wish those made by lawyers and alleged victims last winter. "What do you have to do, pour blood on him desk before he considers there are grounds for an inquiry?" asks Ruby.

The whole Proverbs case is laced with intrigue—with Proverbs saying that he was trying to fool the police and with the police saying that they were trying to fool Proverbs. One of the most puzzling exchanges took place when Proverbs, reading from what he claimed were notes from the tapes, told the police that "the heroin is off, gone, all heroin is terminated." Afterwards, he claimed, the police continued to insist on their ability to frame suspects. Reynolds said he did not understand it at that time that the heroin deal was off and denied that Proverbs had told him so.

Whatever the jury decides about Proverbs' weapon charge may not settle public doubts about police conduct by the tapes. The case is, in fact, attracting wide attention as it unfolds when the mass of police misconduct is about to resurface in Toronto. Sgt. Leonard Winter, a lawyer appointed last winter to head a review of police complaints beyond, now plans to take public his review of the tapes. That Toronto police tortured suspect London will also moderate the O.P.P. investigation into the Proverbs case, and demands for a public inquiry continue. Indeed, the trial may be just the beginning of a long struggle to determine whether the 37 hours of tapes portray a police who provide a rare and ominous glimpse behind the impenetrable walls of police stations.

—GEOFFREY B. HARRIS

## QUEBEC

# Quebecair's new flight plan



A flying visit to Ottawa: five jets for sale

"I feel like the ham asparagus in a sandwich with strong mustard on both sides," concluded a beleaguered Alfred Harrel last week. In this case the comments were spent by governments in Ottawa and Quebec City, and the asparagus was over ownership of Quebecair, the regional airline that Quebec Transport Minister Michel Charbonneau has as the only guarantee for "disappearance survival is aviation." To Quebecair's president, Harrel saw a promised \$30-million rescue of his company by Quebec City abruptly threatened and the airline warning near bankruptcy as a result of Ottawa's proposal B-31, which will limit provincial ownership of air provincial transportation companies to 30 per cent. By

With a stock portfolio of \$25 billion, the case is Canada's largest single investment. With assets of \$10 billion, it Harrel's own Alberta's half \$10 billion Heritage Fund. His secretive conduct, however, has worried the public, not to mention his own minister, and it has been barred from landing in Ontario by the Ontario Securities Commission because it refuses to comply with disclosure rules and regulations governing public companies.

Ottawa began drafting B-31 last spring when the minister for the first time voluntarily disclosed its major holdings, including a revelation that it had increased its share in C.P. Rail from 7.94 per cent to 10.9 per cent in 1981. In May. At the same time, C.P.'s largest single shareholder, Paul Desmarais' Power Corp., had an agreement with C.P. not to seek control of the company unless another shareholder gained more than 10 per cent of the shares. But is any takeover battle between Power and the case, Desmarais would be in the weaker position. The case has more than 14 million Power's \$300 million in assets. As a result, the federal government declined to act. In one Quebec-

Qair emboldened



Liberals explained last week. "We (Ottawa) simply had to stop progressive provincial incursions into areas of federal power," the Quebec government took over its job. It would be very difficult for us to force the company to conform to regulations that we constitutionally have the right to impose." Quebec clearly was a much less important target in Ottawa's view and a more politically sensitive one.

The Quebec government effectively took over the airline in July, 1981, to prevent its sale to Air Canada subsidiary Nordair, giving the provincially based airline \$15 million in return for non-voting convertible shares. Quebec would like to see a merger of Montreal, Quebecair and Air Ontario and a consolidation of their Quebec and eastern Canadian routes but it does not want the federally owned Air Canada to have any degree of control. The airline has found such strong competition from Air Canada and Nordair that it had to abandon its one-liner service to Florida. Then, Quebecair was stuck in a time of falling passenger loads with heavily defined Boeing 720s, all of which are now up for sale.

So, fearing a provincial outcry provoked by Clax's fevered imagery of the unshattered transpropane company fighting the domestic English, Ottawa last week called Quebec's bluff by announcing Quebecair from the province of Bill 8-31. That left the way clear for the provincial government to convert its remaining shares and assume official control. But the requirement significantly constrained its mandate on the withdrawal of Bill 8-31—already suggesting that its major anxiety was not a wish to pour more money into an airline that has lost \$10 million so far this year. After a meeting with Transpro's Pierre Leduc last week, Clax said Quebec would keep the airline flying for another 10 days but wants Ottawa to suggest a format for its survival.

Ottawa's determination to stave provincial growth in the transportation sector and the method it chose left no observers puzzled. Mr. Leader Bill Braudhurst wondered why a private multinational was necessarily more interested in the good of the nation than a provincial government. Montreal Stock Exchange President Pierre Leduc said, "The national interest can be protected by other means than the limitation of property." But the federal Liberals clearly think they know best where the danger lies. When Conservative and Corporate Affairs Minister André Gagnier was asked why he had moved so quickly to impose Bill 8-31 rather than discussing it with the province, he said, "The cops don't tell the robbers when there's a bad place."

—ANNE BRYSON in Montreal

## NATIONAL

# Debating a motherhood issue

Dorcas Arnold jumped from the Liberal party convention back and forth. The suburban Toronto housewife is president of the riding association that brought the controversy to life by suggesting that the government cut off family allowance payments to the rich. The resulting debate was tense and passionate. Arnold sat cringing as her proposal was de-

stroyed in anti-Liberal and her supporters were attacked as negatively and insensitive. Then, the resolution was defeated overwhelmingly, and Arnold went home and collapsed into bed with a painful tooth infection and an aching eye. "All I wanted to say is that the government should take money from those who don't need it and give it to those who do," she said later. "But they [the

delegates] missed the whole point."

Arnold's burning issues about the dangers of tampering with the cheque for \$10.97 per child that Ottawa sends to 3.7 million mothers every month is a miniature reflection of the hot-searching that the federal cabinet went through during the summer. Finance Minister Mike Lalonde leads the forces of restraint that believe that, because of the falling economy, the government

"The crucial issue, between \$100 and \$120 as an Alberta, depending on the child's age, and from \$10 to \$120 in Quebec. All other provinces have a single rate

should consider limiting family allowance payments to those who really need them. But Health Minister Mariage Babin and her wing contended that the provinces are a mother's right, regardless of her income. It is an issue that has set us against women, split both the Liberal and Conservative parties and left thousands of mothers confused and angry. And Arnold's resolution is the more than \$300 million in Ottawa dragged the divisive question out of the back room and onto the debating floor. But when the convention ended, it's returned behind closed doors, still wander-

ing if there is a way to trim the \$2.2-billion program without causing a national outcry and without endangering the whole network of social programs. Family allowance was first introduced in Canada in 1945. At that time, the government of William Lyon Mackenzie King decided to pay every mother in the country \$5 to \$6 a month (depending on age) for each child to encourage birth rates. But as the economy rebounded Canada's depleted work force after the Second World War. The system's current defenders say that family allowances—unlike welfare—have no moral stigma because every mother gets one, and they point out that a good portion of the money that is paid out to high-income families is returned to federal coffers anyway (the cheques have been taxable since 1974). The payments also stimulate the economy by putting money into the hands of those who will spend. And supporters of the status quo contend further that the family allowance system is not a promising source of government savings. Cutting off the top-earning 50 per cent of families, calculates the Canadian Council on Social Development, would save just \$500 million—out of total federal spending of \$79.2 billion this year.

For their part, detractors argue that a universal family allowance system has become a luxury. "When times get tough, they say, non-essential spending should be stopped, and sending monthly cheques to women who can afford them and create resistance makes no sense."

Arnold's resolution came at a critical time. The very day it went before the Liberal party's policy committee, Lalonde had made front-page headlines by suggesting that he might consider freezing family allowance benefits in his 1985 budget. That led to a near panic in Babin's office (responsible for the monthly cheque) was swamped with calls from worried mothers. "The fear spread like wildfire," says a ministerial aide. Individual MPs were getting similar loads of calls at their riding offices. In fact, Lalonde's Liberal colleagues were so upset that, in an angry chorus at the party's weekly caucus meeting, they told the minister to discuss important policy changes openly—not through leaks and innuendoes in the press.

The party Toronto housewife forced the issue into the open for an emotion-charged hour. But Arnold's big moment is over. Now, it is in the politicians who will determine when—if ever—the public is ready to accept change in the family allowance system. It is the politicians who will debate the pros and cons and the bureaucrats who will come up with clever modifications. And it is Lalonde who will eventually tell Canadians the verdict. —CARRIE GLAZ in Ottawa.



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Demonstrators in Warsaw observe Solidarity's anniversary. Walesa's release is taken as a sign that martial law is about to end

## WORLD

# The man of iron goes home

For many Poles the driving was fitting. Hardly had Moscow announced the death of Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev than Warsaw was signalling the release of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa—the man who came close to undermining the system Brezhnev so recently defended. But the speculation was misleading. Walesa's refusal to deal with Poland's authorities, but there are real reasons to doubt that he will be in any position to continue his struggle after his "unconditional" release from Arłamów, a remote housing lodge near the Polish-Soviet border.

Not only did government spokesmen deny Urban indicate that the 29-year-old Walesa had offered to work with the military government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski in order to help solve Poland's economic and political crisis, but Walesa is rumored to have neither the physical nor the mental strength to resume the work schedule that ruined his life before his arrest last Dec. 13—one of the authorities permit him to do so. Still, the government announcement brought thousands of overjoyed Solidarity supporters into the streets of Warsaw and Kraków.

Despite widespread misgivings about the real terms of Walesa's release, Poles interpreted the move as a clear sign that Jaruzelski intends to lift martial law soon. It was, in fact, the third indication in a week that the chains that

have bound Poland for 11 months are being unhooked. The first was an announcement that Pope John Paul II will make his visit to Poland next June 28. Then came the apparent failure of Solidarity's underground work to enforce its night-hour national strike call to back demands for the nation's reinstatement. Street demonstrations later were less numerous and less well supported than protests in late August and last month—events that left at least six dead in their wake. Urban declared that the way was now open to ending martial law before Christmas.

Union supporters blame the sluggish police response on the government's dramatic new powers to regulate Polish working-class protesters from dismissal from work and removal to other, less appealing jobs, with hardened offenders liable to be sent to labor camps or jail. But enthusiasm for last week's action was also dampened by the Roman Catholic Church's opposition.

According to government aides, the instrument order on Walesa was lifted after he wrote to Jaruzelski proposing a meeting "to clear up certain rumors and to reach agreement." The Solidarity hero signed the letter "Corporate Walesa," either a reference to his rank while performing military service or a sardonic comment on the nature of Jaruzelski's regime. But Warsaw's decision to release him made it clear that the Polish leadership no longer considered the union to be a threat. Urban provided

further evidence of that conviction when he signed orders last night in helping to give themselves up, promising that they would then be set free.

Walesa's wife, Danuta, who has visited him frequently since his arrest in Gdańsk, was informed by Western correspondents of his imminent release. "I am filled with joy, but also fear," she declared, "imagining the crowds who will want to see him." However, it is not clear that Walesa's release will be unconditional enough to enable him to address large crowds or function politically. Nor is he likely to be capable of such activities. The testimony of those who have seen him since his arrest indicates that Walesa has suffered a marked psychological decline in captivity, putting on excessive weight and showing signs of mental imbalance. Stefan Brulawski, chairman of the now-disbanded Polish Journalists' Association, believes that Walesa may have been given neuroleptic drugs, the mind-numbing medicine used on dissidents in Soviet hospitals.

Some Western observers believe that Jaruzelski may offer Walesa the leadership of the new, tacitly union movement set up in October in Solidarity's place. If Walesa accepts that, or any other official post, he will open himself to the charge of selling out to the authorities simply to buy his freedom. That would destroy his usefulness to the regime—and make a legend.

—PETER LUTEN IN WARSAW

## THE PERSIAN GULF

# Iran's neighbors sound the alarm

The 1,500 Iraqi prisoners set, disheartened and isolated on the parade ground in the Dair al-Jalut military complex in the western Iranian desert, a former U.S.-supervised base now run by Iran's military and the Revolutionary Guards. They were the human spoils of the largest and most recent offensive in a 36-month war that has pitted Iraq's sophisticated Soviet-made military against the Ayatollah Khomeini's raw but zealous Shiite Islam. But, for Iraq's neighbors, the Iraqis also symbolized the fact that whenever those who stand in the way of Tehran's religious and political expansionism.

Balance forever has been the region's most significant element ever since the Iranian revolution. But it acquired an ominous new dimension after Iraqi President Saddam Hussein launched what was to have been a quick and easy drive for control of the strategic Shatt al-Arab waterway in October, 1980.

## The governments of the Gulf states are preparing for a direct challenge from Iranian fundamentalists

Last week, as the Iranians renewed their attacks after a three-month lull and reportedly overran 118 square miles of Iraqi territory, alarms sounded throughout the Persian Gulf region. At the annual summit of the Gulf Cooperation Council in Bahrain, the oil-rich nations prepared for a direct challenge from the Iranian fundamentalists.

It is not yet certain whether the Iranians, as they continue to boast, intend to push the Iraqis all the way to Baghdad and topple Hussein's government or merely shove Iraqi artillery out of range of Iranian oil properties. In the past, diplomats in Tehran have ascribed deep divisions between the government and the military about the ultimate goal. But since the tide of war unexpectedly turned in Iraq's favor last March, it seems that the Iranians are determined, at the very least, to achieve a decisive military victory over their atheist, religious and political rivals in Baghdad.

Western reporters scoring the front lines witnessed the Iranians' willingness to pay an extraordinary cost in

permit of that objective. Stunned about the use of human waves to detonate enemy warheads have become legend. Young Revolutionary Guards, poorly trained but highly motivated, have reportedly attacked the latest Soviet-made tanks by boldly boarding them on motorcycles and even by running in close on foot to fire rocket-propelled grenades. But these primitive tactics are not employed in isolation. The regular Iranian army, superbly trained and equipped under the shah, skillfully exploits the openings created by its disarmed but effective paramilitary-in-army. And as their three major offensives this year have shown, the Iranians have also deployed every

strategy by waging war at night and during rainy seasons when heavy Iraqi tanks and artillery bog down.

The implications for Hussein are devastating. After the first loss of territory last spring, he formally announced a withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Iran and agreed to mediation attempts by third parties—gestures designed to regain international support and prevent an influx of refugees. However, recent fighting and the testimony of Iraqi prisoners of war indicate that Baghdad's troops never withdrew at all—a conclusion that may cost Hussein the few valuable friends he has left at home and in the region.

At the Bahrain talks some of those

# MYERS'S

ULTRA LIGHT TASTE. MYERS'S WHITE RUM.

alikes were deeply concerned by the prospect of an Iranian triumph. The war figured prominently at the Gulf summit that was to have considered both economic and defense issues for the member states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates). The summit's involvement so far has been to pour more than \$20 billion into the Iraqi war effort, a figure that Hussein could cite as the tide of spreading Islamic fundamentalism. But the only result has been to antagonize Iraq. Meanwhile, the Gulf states' own vulnerability to Islamic assault has been underlined by subversion at home, including an Iranian-sponsored plot last December to overthrow the government of Bahrain.

With that lesson in mind, and spurred by Iran's latest military strikes, the Bahraini summit took the first steps toward the establishment of a joint defense and internal security pact. But there is an overwhelming number of problems to be solved before an Arab-style NATO is created. Member nations have yet to standardize and upgrade their equipment, a specific task since their hardware comes from such diverse suppliers as the United States, France and Britain. In addition, they must organize a unified command that can serve six different governments and they must build up their military manpower. Now, the total strength of the six states' defense forces is 120,000, according to the Institute of Strategic Studies. That compares with Iran's 300,000-strong army, which in turn is supplemented by at least 150,000 Revolutionary Guards.

One Western diplomat suggests that the Gulf states may never succeed in coordinating their defenses against a foreign attack or domestic subversion, an analysis with grave implications for the West's continued need for access to its largest single source of oil. Four of the six states have large, underdeveloped oil communities. Their fostering discontent with their Sunni rulers, as the short-term coup in Bahrain showed, makes them easy converts for Iran's rising destabilization squads.

Nevertheless, the Gulf Co-operation Council appears determined to push ahead with plans to develop its member states. The council's leaders are banking on the conviction that united action will make the ayatollah's forces think again before initiating a broader challenge to their security.

—BRIAN WRIGHT in Bahrain

## ISRAEL

# The blame shifts to Sharon

The question was polite but persistent. For 48 minutes in Jerusalem last week, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, flanked by two assistants, underwent a searching examination of his knowledge of last September's massacre of Palestinians in Beirut. At first he maintained that "nobody conceived of the danger of acts of atrocity" when Christian Phalangists were sent into the Sabra and Shatila camps. But Begin, whose trip to the United States was cut short by the death of his wife, Aliza, 64, on the weekend, was subsequently caught out as a succession of contradictions by the three members of the inquiry.

The first occurred during his account of a cabinet meeting on Sept. 16, at

held after the massacre, on Sept. 19. At that time the prime minister had stated, "I was able to perceive, after the assassination of Rabin, that they would take revenge on the Maronites."

In other testimony Begin reiterated his post-massacre statement that he only learned the news from the BBC late on Sept. 18. The chief impact of that disclosure was to further erode the credibility of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, who earlier had come under criticism for leaving colleagues in the dark.

The Israeli Army's recent experiences in Lebanon have also been troubling. Last week a massive explosion in Tyre leveled the army command centre there, killing 62 people, including 41 Israeli soldiers. At the same time, co-



Supporters greet the girl in New York: an anarchistic failure to keep in touch

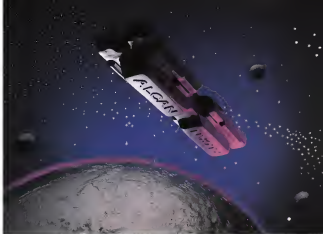
which, he said, he learned that the Phalangists had been sent into the camps. There was no indication that they were anything but badly disciplined soldiers, he claimed, defending his assertion that the massacre was not foreseen. But the commission members introduced the minutes of the cabinet meeting, which revealed that army chief of staff Rafael Eitan had warned that the Phalangists were seeking revenge for the assassination of their leader, president-elect Bashir Gemayel. "It will be as outrageous the likes of which our eyes have not seen," said Eitan.

The minutes showed that another speaker at the meeting, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, had also expressed fears about possible trouble. When Begin permitted in testimony that "no red light was lit on the basis of this," the questioner invited him to read from minutes of a cabinet meeting

done given at the meeting by the Israeli commander in Beirut, Brig-Gen Amos Yaron, has dealt a heavy blow to military morale. He said that the Phalangists had been given permission to replace tired militiamen in the camps on the Friday afternoon and to take in more ammunition. This contradicted Sharon's version that Israel had told the Phalangists on the Friday morning to stop the operation, not to send in reinforcements and to withdraw. But it was Begin's characteristic failure to keep in touch that most aroused Israeli ire. Commented the opposition Jerusalem Post, "Ignorance is not necessarily a virtue, especially in a prime minister and especially in time of war."

Despite the lapse, Begin's position on the record may be unassailable. The same is not true of Sharon. The scapegoat's claim to being blamed for him.

—ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem



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## BRITAIN

# A portrait of a committed spy

**T**he chief justice's words rang non-stop through the Old Bailey courtroom last week. Geoffrey Arthurs, Prime Minister, by your tenacity, you have done considerable harm to the interest and security of this country." Then, with the ringmaster of the summer—30 years for spying and another three for sex offences against young girls—one of the most remarkable careers of treason in modern British history came to an end. But, for Britain's security officials, the trouble is only beginning.

The damage done by the tall, gaunt operative is incalculable. For 36 years, first in the Royal Air Force's Signal Intelligence Division and later at Britain's security Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), Prime posed vital background to the Soviet East Bloc codes. Using such valuable tips, Moscow put out false and misleading information and weakened important communications to safe channels. And one of Prime's former GCHQ colleagues, "When I think of the information that went across his desk, I break out in a cold sweat."

A quiet, dreary personality, Prime served as a classic example of the frustrated public servant ripe for lashing. He was an underachiever but bright, with a talent for languages, who watched Russia enthusiastically and grew to love the country itself. During an assignment to the CIA's G-2 office in West Berlin in 1964, he valued with growing frustration as currency graduates, when he considered to be his inferior, won attractive promotions. Embittered at being passed over repeatedly, he finally gave a note to a Soviet agent on a train travelling through East Germany to Berlin, requesting an official connection.

Prime's treasonous activities might have gone forever unnoticed had it not been for his own tormented conscience—and that of his loving second wife, Rhona. When it appeared that the Americans, who had access to GCHQ operations, had traced (but not identified) a male in the works, Prime opted to become a taxi driver. But he had an other terrible secret—a desire to have sex with young girls. His obsession became so great that he kept a card index on more than 2,000 schoolchildren. Police eventually traced three incidents of child-molestering to Prime, who then confessed his double secret to his wife. It was Rhona who wrestled with the decision of whether or not to tell the authorities. Finally, she betrayed her husband "Mervin, I'm in," she told the court as Prime wiggled the deck, "because I couldn't live as a Christian with that on my conscience."

Prime, classic spy cast

With Prime locked away, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was left to explain to the House of Commons how the security system failed to detect him, despite four intensive screenings. "Now can we, in a democratic society, expect to watch someone all the time?" she said, said derisive words. But, while Thatcher promised a thorough investigation into the security service's failures, she refused to sanction its direct parliamentary control.

Meanwhile, government investigations are slowly laying behind those of the British press. One of the most controversial revelations was that GCHQ's protective muscle was pierced with little more than a theory wave to the gate guard. Not only that, but charges of drug and liquor use will not set back at RAF Gatow during Prime's tenure there are now surfacing. With Britain, the United States and Canada knit together by intelligence-sharing pacts, each new revelation is causing shivers and outrage as both sides of the Atlantic—

—JERRY AND DALLA in London.

Prime, clear conscience



Prime, classic spy cast

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—JERRY AND DALLA in London.

By Michael Posner

If ever there was a death for which the world ought to have been prepared, it was Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev's. Five years the most of the grave had clung to him, like a sturdy Russian coat. He was, and Western intelligence chronically ill since the month, some suggested, heart disease, treated others in Moscow, where rumors in the mother tongue, there were hard shippers last spring of a crushing stroke. Death was imminent, and the inevitable power struggle for succession was already under way. But Brezhnev died. Prof. distracted, sometimes stumbling when he walked, sometimes stumbling in his words, he survived. He delivered speeches, held receptions, attended meetings, made policy. Little more than a week ago, wrapped in his forest-green coat, he stood in Red Square for two hours in subfreezing temperatures, reviewing the grand parade that commemorated the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution. That day the strains of martial music drowned out the sound of death's harsh rattle.

As a result, last week, when rumor again started to dance on the Transcaucasian circuits, it was not Brezhnev's name but that of his Kremlin colleague Andrei Kirilenko that first was heard. The early signs were classic but oblique: major Soviet sporting events were abruptly cancelled, regular television programming was interrupted and replaced with patriotic films and Brezhnev's more subtle symptoms. It was only later, 26 hours after the fatal heart attack—8:30 a.m. in Moscow—that Soviet broadcasters formally announced the end of the Brezhnev era.

Although few observers confessed surprise, they felt as one that sudden quietening in the blood and the heart's uncertain flutter. In a time of mounting international tensions, the leader of a mighty nation had fallen and the world trembled again on the dangerous precipice of the future.

At once, from computer banks and file libraries, Brezhnev's preselected obituaries emerged, were dated off and freely reproduced. Promptly, governments of the East, the West and the so-called neutral nations of condoleance or correct eclogy. And, from Bonn to Berkeley, a thousand learned Kremlinologists spilled out of their tanks and universities, assessing Brezhnev's legacy, weighing the merits of his probable successors and projecting the likely course of Soviet politics at home and abroad. It would be months, the schooled observers said, before a clear heir appeared.

Wrong. Even as the speculation was being swirling better like the several great game of the World Series, the positive Kremlin's power struggle had already played itself out—at least for the moment. Yuri Andropov, chosen last May of his role as head of the KGB, was quickly named chairman of the Brezhnev funeral committee—a post traditionally re-

# The end of one era, the start of another



The power in the East before Brezhnev's death: Andropov, Gromyko, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

served for successors. That was on Thursday, Nov. 11. One day later, without much ado—and nominated by his erstwhile rival for agency, Konstantin Chernenko—Andropov was elected general secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee. That was Brezhnev's berth, as it was Leonid's, the man from which power flows in the Soviet grid. On its face, at least, it was the smoothest and fastest transition ever seen in the Soviet system—indicating that the lines of succession were drawn over while Brezhnev lived.

The Reagan administration greeted the developments with a calm news and a deliberated response. Officially, National Security Advisor William Clark said that he and President Ronald Reagan at 3 a.m. to give him the official word. But all the evidence suggested that the president had been notified and briefed the previous afternoon, presumably with advance word from the Kremlin itself. The White

Brezhnev, Mikhail Tikhonov, Konstantin Chernenko, Dmitri Ustinov and Yuri Andropov.

House's various public comments were appropriately respectful of Brezhnev and offered the predictable band of peace—if not friendship—to the emerging Soviet leadership. Still, as Reagan maintained at his prime-time news conference, "it takes time to tango."

The dance floor is not likely to be occupied for some time yet. Despite the unprecedented speed of his appointment, Andropov will need to spend the next several months consolidating power, ordering and securing bases in the military, the party apparatus, the vast bureaucracy. Counting down, he will prudently avoid dramatic changes which might jeopardize his legitimacy. Says Robert Legvold, senior Soviet analyst at the Council on Foreign Relations: "I see caution and slow movement. He won't take any steps whose consequences cannot be foreseen." In a word, reticence.

That there will find a comforting echo in Washington. The Western World harbors few illusions about Yuri Andro-

pay, no one reigns over the KGB for 15 years without mental stress and a certain talent for ruthlessness. But Andropov is the knowledgeable, urbane, skilled in foreign policy issues. To that extent he is a known quantity among the often lawless party elites, and the West will do nothing in the short run to tempt or challenge him.

Unable to yield concessions, Andropov will earn none. The Reagan memo will not change his rhetoric or strategy, but the man itself is rather bland. It lacks both the spice of policies designed to squeeze the Soviet economy when it harks and the sweetness of genuine détente. The only agreements reached will be tacit, the only treaties those guaranteeing diplomatic limbo. In Geneva, Vienna and Madrid, where terms of negotiators are trading megaliths and human rights, standstill will prevail. That is convenient all around. Everyone wins—if he so chooses.

For the West, Brezhnev's death and Andropov's sudden ascent are only the first steps in a long and difficult journey. The Soviet Union, the largest, least-understood nation on earth, is approaching a major crossroads. But it has not reached it yet. At 68, Andropov could conservatively rule through the decade. But, by 1990 at the latest, he and the Politburo and the Central Committee—the entire Second World War generation—will be retired or deceased. Then, the real succession will occur, when a new breed of Soviet leaders—what Brookings Institution scholar Helmut Sonnenfeldt calls the Class of '25—will take its place on the new stage of Red Square.

About those patient, numerous men, too, the world knows little. As a group they are thought to be less ideological than the Brezhnev era but more pragmatic. With no practical experience in war, they may—some Kremlinologists fear—be more inclined to military adventures. On the other hand, they are also better educated and more widely traveled than their elders and thus are more likely to be pragmatic in foreign policy.

That is informed guesswork, but guesswork still. Western guesses of what really goes on in the back rooms of the dachas remain profane. As Columbia University's Marshall Shulman, a former presidential adviser on Soviet affairs, rounded candidly last week: "These of us who hang out a shingle as Soviet experts pretend to know more than we do. And the only truth is that we know very little."

They do know one thing, however. Another panel has been sewn to that multifaceted tapestry of Soviet history. The pattern shows undeniable strength—a Maoist twist and a long-denied sin. Foreign relations are in transition and great games on. That is a paradox, as Henry Kissinger observed, that is not easily resolved in Brezhnev's man or his mood.

The spotlight moves, illuminating the next clean stretch of cloth, ready for intercom. The curtains swing for Andropov, the weaver, to choose his colors and begin. □



# From the KGB to the Kremlin



## COVER

**W**ith his thick glasses and high forehead, he looks like an academic who has spent the night poring over his books. But, for the past 15 years, as chief of the Soviet Union's dreaded KGB security empire, Yuri Andropov has masterminded one of the most ruthless and wide-ranging crackdowns on intellectuals, dissidents and other nonconformists since the Stalinist purges. Then, last week, the man who for so long oversaw the operations of Soviet spies abroad and received daily reports from informers and police agents at home was elevated to supreme power in the Soviet Union. And the uncharacteristic slacker with which Andropov was confirmed as Leonid Brezhnev's successor provided a heady hint of the extent to which he has quietly been consolidating his control behind the scenes in recent months.

Andropov, 68, will almost certainly not equal Brezhnev's 19-year term as the all-powerful general secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee. But his appointment seems to be more than simply an interim measure designed to guarantee the continuation of the Brezhnev policies. In fact, Andropov is probably the only man in the

Soviet Union who commands enough power and authority to force through some of the urgent changes that now have to be made if the country is to be rescued from an approaching social, political and economic crisis. More than anyone else, the discerningly professional-looking Andropov has been responsible for keeping his 11 elderly Politburo colleagues in power. And, probably more than any other Soviet leader, he

**After 15 years of overseeing police informants and spies, Andropov has been elevated to supreme power**

knows the workings of Soviet society, the mood of the country, the facts, figures and feelings of the people. As ambassador to Hungary during the short-lived 1956 revolution and its brutal suppression by Soviet troops, he gained a reputation for pragmatism and flexibility. More recently, as head of the KGB—co-ordinating its role in ensuring Soviet control over Poland and Afghanistan and maintaining dominance of the party by swiftly destroying any whisper of opposition—he was indeed the

power behind the throne.

Whatever skills those roles have given Andropov, he will need them all in the months ahead. The legacy of the Brezhnev era poses a formidable challenge. Andropov inherits critically strained relations with the United States, a Poland barely returned from the brink of revolution, daily skirmishes in a self-venting Afghanistan, and delicate, slowly moving negotiations to ease tensions along the border with China. At home he faces a nation rife with economic and social crises, from rampant alcoholism and burgeoning drug rates to increasing crop failures and the military budget's drain on domestic resources.

Still, immediately after his Central Committee colleagues unanimously appointed him to his new position, Andropov showed his respect for continuity by pledging to follow through with Brezhnev's foreign and domestic policies. And he quickly addressed any speculation abroad about the firmness of his hold at the controls by declaring: "We well know that you cannot beg for peace from superpowers. It [peace] can only be safeguarded by relying on the unshakable might of the Soviet armed forces."

Some of the rhetoric might well be aimed at potential foes at home, too, as Andropov seeks to consolidate his grip



The Kremlin and Red Square (left); Andropov addressing a party congress, swiftly destroying any whisper of opposition

on power. That task gains urgency from the memory of the fate that overtook Georgi Malenkov, Nikita Khrushchev and Alexei Kossygin, all of whom appeared to hold the top job immediately after the departure of the previous strongman but who eventually were eclipsed in Andropov's case, however, he holds the all-important office of party secretary. Belogov and Kossygin absorbed only the title of prime minister. And, unlike them, he has no obvious rivals breathing down his neck. Whether he plans to assume the other position left vacant by Brezhnev's death, the presidency, was unclear. But to be given both jobs immediately would be a first in Soviet history. After Josef Stalin's death in 1953 and Nikita Khrushchev's ouster in 1964, the three top jobs—party secretary, president of the Presidium and prime minister—were divided, only later did a strongman emerge.

Macroeconomists, Khrushchev's watchers grasped at the meagre bits of information available to form a picture of the shadowy Andropov. Fittingly, for a man who has just spent 15 years in charge of a secret police agency, few outsiders could claim to have firsthand information about him since his days in Bulgaria from 1962 to 1967. Much of what

Western intelligence knew about Andropov came from former Soviet diplomat Vladimir Sakharov, who defected to the United States in 1971. His testimony before a congressional committee last year produced an intriguing picture of an elite man fascinated by the

Andropov, fascinated by U.S. culture



United States, its pop culture and its political system. Sakharov, who said that when he lived in Moscow he was a friend of Andropov's son, Igor, told of seeing swords by Glenn Miller and other American bands in the Andropov home. "Andropov is interested in American popular music, he favors Western drinks, such as Scotch and French Cognac, and he has Western books in his home. I remember that he had *More Green Than My Valley* [by Richard Brautigan] and *Valley of the Dolls* [by Jacqueline Susann]," Sakharov testified. He said that Andropov messaged agents odds to get Igor into the American studies group at the Institute of International Relations in Moscow. That, said Sakharov, "was very significant. He had a great interest in the United States and must have seen a great future for Igor in American studies."

Some Western sources, along with Hungarian and Soviet dissidents, portray Andropov as having had a dualistic role in Budapest during the Hungarian Revolution. They say he pretended to "negotiate" the removal of Soviet troops, while, in fact, so much Soviet war was ever intended. But other Hungarian survivors who were directly involved say that the ambassador was a

# COVER

moderate man who did not play a key role in the Soviet invasion and the bloody repression of the rebellion. "He is pragmatic, realistic and very clever," once admired Hungarian political leader, who caught a top government post before the 1956 revolution, told Western journalists in September. The Hungarian, who agreed to be interviewed on the understanding that his name would not be used, said that Andropov "was never particularly dogmatic in his approach to Hungary. I think the Hungarian Model would enhance his standing on Eastern Europe as a whole quite a bit."

That "Hungarian Model" is a quiet program of economic reforms and internal political relaxation that began in the late 1960s and has given Hungary the most prosperous and Western-oriented regime in the East European Communist Bloc. Andropov "knows that different things can work in different societies," the Hungarian said.

At the U.S. state department last week a report circulated that Andropov has a serious heart illness and has already suffered a heart attack. But the sources say he still plays tennis, collects abstract art, likes jazz and has been seen dancing at Moscow parties. They add that he also enjoys dancing the tango gracefully, a pastime that fits nicely with President Ronald Reagan's remarks last week when he was noted about seeking an arms limitation agreement with the new Soviet leader. "It takes two to tango," said Reagan.

Andropov, the son of a railway worker, began his climb to the top when he joined the Young Communist League in the late 1930s. In 1940 he was put in charge of controlling territory captured from Finland and stayed to fight behind the lines when the Germans invaded. In 1950 Andropov went to Moscow and assumed responsibility for relations with Poland and Czechoslovakia. After an stint as ambassador in Budapest, he returned as a party secretary. Then, following his KGB appointment in 1967, he became a full member of the ruling Politburo. In 1973 he was believed to be married to a woman who, like Brezhnev's widow—a Jewish.

The Soviets are clearly sensi-

tive to criticism that they are adopting a hard-line stance by making their closest ally chief the leader of the Communist Party. As a result, they tried to distance Andropov from his former role last May by reviving his ties from the Leningrad (1915) background to an office in the Kremlin, where he again became a party secretary—a clear indication that he was on his way up. The move was seen at the time as a setback for Kossuthism. Chernenko, Brezhnev's loyal aide for 20 years, who, after the death of Mikhail Suslov in January, moved rapidly to establish himself as second in the party hierarchy. But Chernenko was always, in spirit, a provincial ideologue who owed his position entirely to Brezhnev's patronage. Andropov, on the other hand, was one of the most experienced men in the Kremlin.

Although he never attended university, Andropov is regarded as one of the most intellectual members of the Politburo. He is one of the few members of the hierarchy who speaks English fluently, and he impressed Hungarians by learning to speak their extremely difficult language. At the same time, the Andropov has, on several occasions in the past 10 years, invited leading dissidents to his Moscow home for long discussions. "Andropov looks like a European gentleman and has the right of it in the Politburo," says Boris Vinograd, whom he met as a Soviet journalist and who now lives in Chicago, where he edits a Russian-English newspaper. "Andropov is the cleverest of them all. And maybe the most dangerous," he adds.

But the new Soviet leader remains enough of an enigma in the West that Kremlinologists are at odds over how events are likely to unfold in Moscow. Some, like Myron Bash, professor of government at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., think that foreign policy will be a low priority, at least in the short term. "It seems reasonable to assume it will be a disrupted regime and interested in internal Soviet policy, giving less attention to the outside world," says Bash. But others point to Andropov's concentration on foreign affairs, both within the Central Committee and as ambassador in Budapest, and then during his years in the KGB. "The key problem with the Soviet Union now is its internal economic difficulties, not foreign affairs," notes University of Toronto political scientist Timothy Colton. He concludes that "it was a mistake for him to become a general secretary."

For all that, Andropov will soon have to face the troubled state of Soviet-U.S. relations, now at their lowest point since the Cold War. In his last major speech Brezhnev voiced the Kremlin's anxiety in the face of current moves by

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the United States to help its military might. The Soviet Union, the late great power, would feel "a crushing retaliatory blow" to any aggression. Brezhnev's administration was quickly followed by a direct accusation from Defense Minister Marshal Dmitri Ustinov that the foreign administration has "sided with a political, ideological and economic offensive against socialism."

That bellicosity reflected the Soviet anger at Washington's determined hard line on the Kremlin's intervention in Afghanistan, its involvement in helping to crush Poland's Solidarity movement and its espousal of policies in Angola and Ethiopia. Another sore point in Washington's stationing of a Rapid Deployment Force in the Middle East and its gradual military buildup there. One irritant disappeared last week as Reagan lifted his sanctions against the Soviet gas pipeline, but the U.S. president insisted that had nothing to do with the



Brezhnev (right) greeting Andropov in 1979 ceremony, declining talks

#### change in Kremlin leadership

The Soviet Union inherited by Andropov has recently become—at least by Eastern European standards—very much of a consumer society (page 40). But, below a surface brightened by improved housing and more cars in the streets, there is a fertile breeding ground for the social unrest common to all modern states. And, by Western standards, the Soviet Union's new social problems are daunting. Alcoholism,

striking implications for the future labor force.

An alarmed Soviet leadership has reacted to the threat of social disorder by ordering the creation of special security counseling units. Women, who now account for more than half the labor force in the industrial regions, are being encouraged to give up work and raise children. Trade unions have been weakened in the fight against alcoholism, especially on the shop floor, where absten-

ence and abstinence work are making it harder for the Soviet Union to compete internationally in quality or productivity. Tough new laws are being introduced to combat corruption, which has been engulfing even senior officials. And the courts are ordering executions for serious black market speculators in their attempt to control the unofficial, but burgeoning, private economy.

Brezhnev himself, in his final years, constantly urged his fellow Communists to keep in closer touch with the mood of the people, to set a good example and not to abuse their privileges. But Andropov is clearly aware of the opposition he would face if he attempted to undertake the radical changes necessary to cure domestic ills. Within the Politburo he is surrounded by the same shadowy figures that reformed Brezhnev for the past decade and a half. His chief rival is likely to be the 71-year-old Chernomir Khrushchev, a Washington expert. Andropov is not Khrushchev quickly, not simply because he is a potential threat but because the new leader considers him to be a dull, plodding clericalist with little talent. The rest of the Soviet inner circle consists of Mikhail Gorbachev, 51, the Politburo's youngest member and head of an agricultural ministry that has experienced massive disasters for the past four years; Defense

Minister Dmitri Ustinov, 74, Moscow party chief Vladimir Shcherbitsky, 73, Ukraine party chief Vladimir Dolgikh, 70, Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov, 71, and veteran Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 71.

Western analysts expect Andropov to replace Gorbachev with a gesture of his own and allow Gromyko, who has been a fixture in the foreign ministry for more than 40 years, to retire gracefully. That could happen as early as next year because of Gromyko's own failing health.

But it is perhaps not from the Politburo that Andropov will face the stiffest challenge to his authority. One of the shrewdest concerns of Western experts is that when Andropov is replaced—in light of his age it is unlikely that he will remain in power much more than a decade—the military will take over. Already, senior military officers—whose ministry consumes 11 to 15 percent of the Soviet Union's economic output—are seeking a larger say in national affairs. Despite Lenin's dictum that "the communist movement be general," with the massive Soviet arms buildup since the Cuban missile crisis, the Soviet armed forces are becoming a power unto themselves. Analysts suggest that a new generation of politicians, may be more willing to risk confrontation.

To find badly needed funds for the social and agricultural programs, Andropov will have to cut back military spending, something that the young military leaders will strongly oppose as their determination to maintain armed superiority over the West. To appease them, Andropov may well be forced to arrange for military leaders to be appointed to the Politburo, giving them their first real taste of political power. Brezhnev points out that in Poland Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, a professional soldier, is now running both the country and the party and, in Moscow's eyes, is doing an excellent job.

The task facing Andropov is to show that he can be as tough and as capable as Brezhnev, able to tackle the mounting problems at home and abroad. The overriding priority for the new leadership is the revival of the economy, and Andropov probably realizes that social measures are needed. But to introduce them without unleashing an avalanche of dangerously post-up frustration or running into the opposition of entrenched conservatives, he will need to keep an iron grip on the leadership. Fifteen years in charge of the state would have taught him how.

—HAL GUNTON in Toronto, with Keith Charles in Moscow, William Leach in Washington, Ann Andropov in Geneva and Carol Brown in Toronto

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# When a legend passes

By Val Ross

**L**eod Tysh Brezhnev's tearless war against the frailty of his own aging body—a war he had waged for years with the help of psalmists, bearing aids, cancer breakers and, mostly, sheer brute will—was finally over. Right up to his death last Wednesday at 8:30 a.m. in Moscow, of heart failure at 75, he had never publicly acknowledged his fading grip on power. At his last public appearance, the previous Sunday, the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the Communist Party had stood for two hours, often propped between aides, mailed against the bitter cold for the annual celebrations of the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Moscow's Red Square. This week Red Square became his resting place.

The funeral marked the end of a 16-18-year-long Brezhnev era. It was an eventful period of unparalleled stability for the Soviet Union—but also a time of thwarted dreams and mounting frustration. Despite a massive economic commitment to agriculture, Brezhnev's government was plagued with the memory of its huge Western grain purchases and repeated crop failures at home. Brezhnev personally strove to improve relations with Western Europe and to expand trade in European technology. But that initiative was opposed by Washington's truculent sanctions against suppliers to the Soviet gas pipeline to Western Europe—until President Ronald Reagan lifted them last week. To the crimes of the East Bloc satellites, the Kremlin leader who brought them the "good life," socialist-style, was the same man who from the gentle thaw of Prague Spring in 1968 and who oversaw the at times lawless trade union movement in Poland last December.

To the West, the wheeler-dealer, war-haunted architect of détente, who kissed U.S. President Jimmy Carter on both cheeks at the conclusion of their arms control treaty in 1979, is remembered instead for the "Brezhnev Doctrine" of armed control over the Soviet Union's

satellites and as the "man of peace" under whom the Soviet navy became a world-class fleet and the military machine swelled to nuclear parity—perhaps beyond—with NATO.

In the streets of Moscow public reaction to the passing of this enigmatic paradox of a man was one of indifference. Under the shadow of black-bordered portraits and flags, people went quietly about their business. To the 265 million Soviet citizens, ruled by the rule of Stalin's iron fist and by the feckless hesitations of Nikita Khrushchev,

Brezhnev was simply as a anonymous bureaucrat. His government by consensus decision-making within the Kremlin's yellow walls and oppressive but predictable police rule without. The consensus of his domestic policies, the consensus of 1977, merely consolidated the supremacy of the Communist Party in the lives of the citizenry and spelled out their heavy obligations to the state. In Brezhnev's final years the society's arteries hardened, as did his own: the rising Putschbergew older, attempts at economic reform sank in the bureau-

cratic inertia, and the glass structure became even more stratified. Hence the public's bored indifference. As Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, aptly observed, "Under Lenin the Soviet Union was like a religious revival, under Stalin a prison, under Khrushchev a circus, and under Brezhnev the post office."

But behind Brezhnev's public facade of dull, burly dignity, of wooden gestures, hooded eyes and the slow turtle stare, there was a personality that former U.S. president Richard Nixon remembers for its "actual magnetism, warmth, drive." The Party Man in the Grey Flannel Suit—name often a well-learned old blend—had voracious appetites. He favored a succession of lovely young Soviet stewards and personal mistresses and expensive cars, including two Rolls Royces and a Lincoln. He positively relished wild bear, legend at his country estate in

crystal mountains, and the glass structure became even more stratified. Hence the public's bored indifference. As Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, aptly observed, "Under Lenin the Soviet Union was like a religious revival, under Stalin a prison, under Khrushchev a circus, and under Brezhnev the post office."

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Brezhnev (top) with wife, Yekaterina Politskaya, and a great granddaughter; his year's anniversary parade. Prowled crowds

forbidden, and espiced quantities of vodka, wine, Cognac and food. At times his appetites seemed beyond his control. He worried rarely with his weight and kept his Philip Morris Multifilter cigarettes in a case with a time lock to slow down his consumption (and washed a reserve pack in another pocket). But his strongest appetite was for power. It turned the latest ideology into a free-the-pragmatist who was willing to compromise almost anything to get his way. As German biographer John Dornberg remarks: "He was a thugabashed, instinctive politician."

Brezhnev's class and his geographic background gave him a head start. His father, who worked in a foreign-owned steel mill, was a rarity in feudal Czarist Russia, a genuine industrial worker. His dad grew up in Kamenskoye, now

Dnepropetrovsk, an industrial city in the Ukraine. In his late teens, when he joined the Communist Youth League, he also earned as a hard worker student at the same school as another young Ukrainian, Nikita Khrushchev, whose fate was to intertwine closely with his own. By 1923 Brezhnev had climbed through professional and political ranks as secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Committee of the party, which reported directly to Ukrainian party boss Khrushchev.

During the Second World War, which raised casualties and 20 million deaths, Brezhnev as commander directed political propaganda among the units at the southern front. Like Khrushchev, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. After the war he assumed the busy job of the political cleanup in

But now Brezhnev could use that the star of his career, Khrushchev, was beginning to fade. Using the presidency to win public visibility, Brezhnev built a personal power base which included alliances with party ideologue Mikhail Suslov and the so-called "Two Big Men," Brezhnev's loyalists from the Thaw. By 1964 Khrushchev's breakdown during the Cuban missile crisis, his embarrassing show-banging at the United Nations, his split with the Chinese Communists and his mismanagement of the economy at home had convinced the party enough to oust a coup d'état. Led by the technocrats of Brezhnev, Leonid Kozlov and Nikolai Podgorniy, the ouster was swift and bloodless.

In later years, visitors to Brezhnev's death were struck by his approach to

the bear hunt. In and on his porch waiting with a telescope sighted rifle for his prey to wander down a track laced with carnal. That same combination of seduction and force characterized Brezhnev's use of power from the beginning of his rule. His first promise to the people, delivered at the Red Square welcome for the communists, was a vow to improve domestic living standards.



With Polshun member Konstantin Chernenko (left) and Cuban Premier Fidel Castro in Moscow last year. Another site workman and entrepreneur

in 1962 and 1970 he pumped \$35 billion into the domestic automobile industry, and by the mid-1970s even early

household cars could afford a compact car. Spending on agriculture doubled and, until the end of the past decade, grain crops increased almost every year by two to five per cent. Today, a majority of Soviet families, crowded into drab blocks of apartment towers rising like cities, at least have their own kitchens and bathrooms.

But the price of this last moment that Soviet society remained forever in Brezhnev's grasp.

The twist of ideas that had flowed under Khrushchev was quickly strangled. Such intellectuals as Yuri Danilov and Andrei Sinavsky were tried, novelties like Alexander Solzhenitsyn were exiled. In a variation on Stalin's prison camps, dissidents were confined to psychiatric prisons in the Brezhnev era.

Brezhnev's distinctive combination of leniency and force was applied with equal effectiveness in the East Bloc satellites. Although Sed's tactics suppressed Czechoslovakia's flirtation with social democracy, real rules were bought on the satisfaction with increased consumer goods, more privatized farms and increased supplies of food. In a more recent example, Brezhnev linked troop maneuvers along the Polish border, massive subsidies to Warsaw and Soviet loan guarantees for crushing Poland's foreign debt to ease at least a degree of obedience from warring Poland.

Despite the consistency of Brezhnev's assertion of force in the East Bloc, his overtures to the West went with a surprising degree of early success. Meetings with West German Chancellor Willy Brandt produced the Døpset of the early 1970s and several

others—a treaty between Moscow and Bonn that recognized the Soviet post-war borders and the division of Germany. While the prestige of this success enabled Brezhnev to pull ahead of the other members of his triumvirate at home, it whittled his arguments for wider recognition of East Bloc boundaries and security. Consolidation came with the signing of the United States There was the signing of the first Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) agreement in 1972. East Germany's recognition by the West and its admission to the United Nations in 1973, and the temporary softening of the United States' cold war

facilities. But the warmth of détente was short-lived. First rifts broke with the 1975 Yom Kippur War. In reply to Brezhnev's threats against Israel, Nixon put the U.S. military on Defense Condition Alert. And, as the Soviet Union backed off, its prestige in the Middle East

With Khrushchev and Hungary's Janos Kadar in 1962



igned Soviet influence waned. Brezhnev's later advances in the liberation wars of Angola and the Horn of Africa could not dull the pain of the setback.

Meanwhile, the next round of SALT talks turned bitter. What Brezhnev thought he had won from the Helsinki Accords of 1975—more recognition of his borders in return for vague promises to liberalize at home—was used against him. Trouble came both from dissident members of the accords within the Soviet Union and from

a new U.S. president, Jimmy Carter, who persisted in taking Soviet human rights promises seriously and, more critically, linking SALT talks to their fulfillment. After four years of haggling, the Carter-Brezhnev talks ended SALT II, but then the U.S. Congress rejected the pact. The reason, U.S. diplomat, deepened by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. In 1981, when the hawkish Ronald Reagan took over the White House, a cold war still descended again.

An old dream crumbled around him. Brezhnev ceased to fight another battle—this one for personal credibility and control in the face of his flagging health. In 1974, while on an official visit to Paris, the Soviet leader gave the West the first look at his peppy face, his pallor, poor hearing and general physical deterioration. At times his speech was so slurred that an interpreter had to translate for some of the time.

As he spoke, Russian State runners of his decline circulated among Moscowites in the form of cruel jokes. (Late one night Brezhnev shuffled over to answer a knock at the door and made from a script, "What's there?") In public, such flowy as a side helped him to his seat, shreds of the old man's dignity fell away. Finally, his power began to slip, too.

Although his final days were marked by pain and banishment, extraordinary Brezhnev was allowed to maintain his charade of enduring power to the end. He is the first Soviet leader since Stalin to die in office. And it is unlikely that his successor, election postmortemists not from the same cloth, will inherit his reign in the "depersonalization" that plagued him and Khrushchev from their predecessors. Behind the indifference there was a grudging respect at Brezhnev's passing.

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## Life in the fast lane, Soviet style

Traditionally, most Canadians have harbored a stereotypical mental snapshot of Moscow. It is a dark, dreary, subzero capital inhabited by thickly cloaked masses hurrying through a drifting industrial haze. But, in recent years, Western visitors have returned with reports of startling changes. Parks have been opened, long-abandoned Red Square is now a busy bazaar set of bars. Moscow's broad streets are nearly clogged with shiny new Ladas, Zils, Volgas and Chruzas. Moscowites entertain their friends at home with slide shows and worry

about Leonid Brezhnev's regime. Brezhnev's emphasis on détente with the West, cultural exchanges and the resulting increase in volume of tourism to the Soviet Union have left indelible impressions. "You can't have hundreds of tourists streaming through the country without any impact," says Perera. "Russians want the goods they see others have." And, adds Collins, the authorities have bowed to the new nationalism. "They see it as something they just can't fight." Indeed, the jocular "plus" speaks increasingly of the need for more production of consumer goods.

And to live in Moscow is a coveted right. In an effort to control the growth of the megapolitis, which now has a population of eight million, only those who can prove that they have a job can get a permit to live in the capital.

Wary Moscovites find respite in the inevitable queues. On a recent holiday in the Soviet Union, Toronto journalist Gerald French watched people line up outside a large Moscow department store for two hours just to look at winter coats. "People still wear ill-fitting, cheaply tailored clothes," he says. "No wonder. If you had to line up two hours



Moscow global-machine-parlor: Chinese farmers' market with tourists. Russians want the goods they see others have.

about how to cope with stripes (sneakers). While it may not be everyone's idea of progress, Western culture has definitely penetrated what was once known as the Iron Curtain. "There are men in Moscow who wear their hair longer than they do on Blair Street [in Toronto]," says Timothy Collins, a political science professor from the University of Toronto who has visited the Soviet Union several times. "Over the years you can see the hair getting longer, such by inch."

Women, too, are adopting stylish Western fashions, and "you almost never see that awful red dye Russian women used to use," says Collins. They complain now not so much about the unavailability of blue jeans as about the shortage of jeans with designer labels. Norman Perera, from Dalhousie University in Halifax, sits under the arm of a Western-style sofa in the Soviet Union.

"The frenzy to acquire is denounced as 'thievery' in some conservative circles. But it is deeply entrenched in the young, postwar generation. And, despite their new socialist Western labels, young Moscovites still spend half their income on food—food that is often scarce and overpriced. Most experts blame a poor domestic distribution system for the annoying, often terrible shortages. 'Suddenly,' says Perera, 'there will be no meat anywhere.' But there are crucial shortages of fresh meat, fruit and vegetables. The situation is even worse outside the capital, with the result that two million people, just two Moscow every day—none coming from as far as 650 km away—just to shop. That means—along with the immensity of a capital that covers an area of 288 square miles—makes it, according to Perera, 'the loneliest, loneliest city in the world outside of New York.'"

Just to look, you would probably be the first thing that came along."

On a more positive note, visitors to modern-day Moscow are impressed by the low crime rate and the rich cultural life. Perera says that ordinary Soviets line up for tickets to the Bolshoi "as if it were some rock group." But, because the few nightclubs and restaurants in town by night, most entertaining is done at home—in the crowded apartments in which most city dwellers live.

Few expect the end of the Brezhnev era to make much immediate difference in the daily life of ordinary citizens—or to stem the rising tide of consumerism. The problems for the new regime, says Perera, will be in meeting consumer demands and containing the poor money and heavy industry. "It is going to be very difficult for the Russians to have gone and better, too," says.

—SHEILA KELLY in Toronto

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White (above), arriving in Windsor, cheering workers; Perry (below) advises economic forces closing in

## BUSINESS

# The auto industry's uncertain future

By Ian Brown

**T**he scene was a massive demonstration of union solidarity. A crowd of 5,000 striking Chrysler Canada workers packed into the local racetrack in Windsor, Ont., last week in what resembled a giant pep rally more than it did a union meeting. Hundreds of supporters carried flags, throngs of demonstrators cheered, and rousing speeches blared through the air. Then, Robert White, the United Auto Workers' 47-year-old Canadian director, rose to speak. "Somebody asked me who these people are behind on," he said, glancing over his shoulder at a handful of drivers standing in their hives in the background. "They're [Chrysler's] owners and supervisors. They run around in circles and don't do a God damn thing."

It was standard strike incentive. But it was a unanimous vote of confidence for White last week in what may prove to be one of the most symbolic labor standoffs in modern Canadian capitalism. The immovable object—Chrysler, which claims it cannot meet White's pay demands and will survive—has met the irresistible force: 5,000 Canadian autoworkers who have granted the company three life-saving wage and benefit concessions in the past three years and who now want some concessions of their own. The confrontation is symptomatic of the divisions facing labor and management alike in the North American auto industry. The problems that landed Chrysler in a financial abyss four years ago—from which it is only now tentatively emerging—afflict the industry as a whole. Floundering sales,

declining productivity and fierce foreign competition have called into question the ability of the continent's automakers to survive. In Canada, the problems are even more severe than in the United States, a situation that has led one noted analyst to suggest that Canada get out of the automobile industry. Others say that in 10 years the industry will not exist in its present form. Caught in the lightning vise of a constricting industry, workers face pressure to moderate wage demands and, worse, the threat of increased job losses as the race for productivity gathers steam.

Against that backdrop, the delicate stand of Canada's Chrysler employees taken on added significance. Most analysts think that White has chosen to strike at an inopportune time. Christmas is a season in which auto-

makers like to make merry, not face picket signs. The union is demanding an immediate \$3 an-hour increase (up from \$10.07) to bring Chrysler workers up to parity with their counterparts at GM and Ford. But Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca has insisted that the company "cannot afford a penny more" in wage concessions. Iacocca, the brilliant and charming Eddie Haskell of the automobile industry, maintains that the \$1.5-billion

(U.S.) cash surplus the company has accumulated since its nearly bankrupt days in 1980—and which White is eyeing to fund wage increases with—is the company's only line of credit. Analysts also point out that \$200 million of the \$266-million profit reported by the company in the first nine months of 1982 came from Chrysler's sale of its profitable tank division last summer. Automobile production operations actually lost \$4.6 million. White, however, did not buy these arguments and called the strike on Nov. 5. Immediately, Iacocca and every other pro-business voice in the United States claimed that the militant Canadian strikers would cost the company \$15 million a week and sink it within months. "The strike is extremely painful and threatens to shut down North American operations completely," says Arvid Jeppa, a Detroit auto analyst.

"After losing about \$2.4 billion in the past four years, Chrysler is entering the first really profitable quarter and it is fragile financial condition it would take 90 days to destroy it."

It is this fear that White is quite possibly counting on. With Chrysler desperate for cash flow and the Canadian strikers facing the prospect of a dreary Christmas, Iacocca and White may be shaking hands over a



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bargaining table sooner than expected. "Both sides have really pointed themselves into a corner," says Perry. "Now they need to let their guard down, walk across it and talk to each other." Perry believes it could happen this week.

Even if an early settlement is reached, the Chrysler strike, however, the deeply imbedded problems of the North American auto industry will remain. For the automakers, the three years since 1979 have been a wrenching period. It relentless succession, the 1979 oil shock was followed by two severe recessions and an extending surge in foreign imports, which have costed 22 per cent of the Canadian market alone. In the United States the years included operating losses at General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors and Volkswagen of America that totalled more than \$7 billion in 1980 and 1981. In Canada, the Big Three automakers recorded losses of more than \$5 billion in the same period and 20,000 employees are now out of work. Currently, although balance sheets are improving, car sales in North America are declining at 1981 levels.

Detroit optimists count on the expected 1983 economic recovery to boost sales. They also claim that the industry's long agony has made it leaner than ever and that the Japanese onslaught has forced it to adopt new standards of quality. Says General Motors Chairman Roger Smith: "We have learned our lesson once and for all. People are buying around us and that is too deep to forget."

The fact remains, however, that the Japanese enjoy a commanding lead in terms of productivity. Japanese factories produce a car for about \$1,200 less than U.S. manufacturers do and about \$1,200 less than Canadian firms. For one Chrysler executive James Harbison views Detroit's drive to smoothen that gap as a matter of life and death. "I firmly believe that the Japanese will stop at nothing in this market," he says.

The first reaction of the car fleet will be workers. Says Alan C. Mann, a GM vice-president: "By 1990, we will probably have a work force about half the size of the one we had in 1979." Similarly, gloomy predictions are made for Canada, where some studies forecast a 50-per-cent drop in auto jobs by 1995.

That scenario is an alarming one for Ontario, home of Canada's auto industry, which provides 91,500 jobs in the province. And, according to Industry Minister Gordon Walker, one in six jobs in Canada's manufacturing sector is related directly or indirectly to



the auto industry. Walker believes that the industry will right itself as companies undertake serious efforts to improve quality and productivity.

But other observers believe that more drastic action is required. As in the United States, there is growing pressure for tougher measures to stem the influx of foreign vehicles. Canada now has a gentlemen's agreement in force that restricts Japanese imports to a set level. It expires at the year's end and will have to be renegotiated. But other possible measures include higher tariffs and tough Canadian-content requirements. Still, protectionist measures would likely backfire as Canada as foreign trade retaliation against Canadian exporters. Another alternative has been suggested by economist Ross Perry. In a recently released study by the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, Perry estimates that to match Japan in productivity Canadian auto workers would have to reduce their wages by 35 per cent and "labor content per vehicle" by 50 per cent. Perry concludes that Japan has an insurmountable lead in things automotive and suggests that one option for Canada is to let the industry die.

The reaction to Perry's report from other observers has been hostile. Ontario's Walker, for one, termed it "nauseous." Another disaster in Perry's Thudney, an economist with IMA Research Canada of Toronto. As he points out, "It is not politically feasible to let the industry die out." What Perry has done, he says, is to take recent productivity patterns and project them for the next 10 years. Adds Thudney: "The irony Perry raises is applicable to the manufacturing industry as a whole. Does that mean that Canada should de-industrialize over the next 10 years?" Thudney thinks not. Still, he believes that by the end of the decade "the auto industry might well exist in its present state." To survive, he argues, auto companies must increasingly engage in joint ventures with foreign firms.

Anyhow, the words of the automakers' agents is seen, especially if sales pick up in the coming months. But the order will continue to be the battle for a share of the world market. Currently, total global auto production capacity is 50 million cars per year, which far surpasses the 30 million cars demanded by consumers. Further productivity gains and increased quality will be necessary if North American car makers are to compete. For U.S. leader White and the continent's 1.5 million auto workers, the battle will also be a race of reducing the exorbitance of a changing industrial climate.

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# The market's advance in the dark

By Peter C. Newman

**O**f the many paradoxes in this strange and troubling time, none seems less explainable than the dichotomy between the performance of the economy and the stock market.

On the one hand, nearly all available business indicators continue to plummet. Third-quarter corporate profits are down 60 per cent from 1981, already a dismal year. All that post-up demand that was supposed to set off a consumer-spending recovery is nowhere in sight. Yet the stock market has been booming as if a golden era of unprecedented prosperity was upon us. During the past three months approximately \$26 billion has been added to the value of shares listed on Canadian exchanges.

Stock market levels have traditionally predicted economic trends by six months or so, leaving some superficial observers with the notion that by the middle of 1982 we may be facing a very different business climate.

That's probably true. It will almost certainly be one worse than it is today.

For one, the stock market is no harbinger of good times.

What the market's sustained upsurge portends is something slightly more optimistic and potentially a lot more ominous.

The current bull market dates back to the price corrections late last summer of Henry Kaufman, chief economist of Wall Street's respected Shearman & Sterling Inc. It was Kaufman who first accurately forecast the drop in interest rates that set off the stock-buying spree. Few investment analysts bothered to read the second paragraph of Kaufman's prognostication. The drop in interest rates, he argued, was due not to any economic turnaround but rather to a drastic reduction in credit demand. Like any commodity, the price of money (interest rates) drops when demand grows soft. "Generally poor economic prospects make businessmen less confident," Kaufman wrote. "The corporate financial structure has become extremely fragile. Stagnation here and abroad is self-reinforcing."

In other words, most businesses and more individuals were than ever before, too worried about staying afloat financially to begin the kind of reinvesting programs that could launch a genuine recovery.

It was the very same wary glow, as

Oct. 18, pronounced himself disoriented with the international order of things. ("We continue to be in a situation of considerable economic and financial risk") and urged the immediate creation of a \$50-billion emergency fund to save the world's financial system.

Naturally, the stock market took off again.

Quite simply, what has been happening is that, as interest-rate planners, investors have been putting their risk back into equities. As one way Ray Streeter has pointed out, financial man-



TSX trading floor: financial risk

agers are like bankers as long as stock prices in this down-out, price level's rise. This has meant that stock prices have become completely detached from corporate financial results. "There are no experts any more," admits Peter Wilenski, a technical analyst for Midland Young Wier. "We're learning the game all over again. The stock price surge reflects a lot of money pouring to find a home for investment rather than a good outlook for the companies."

How long the market's buoyancy will last is impossible to predict. But one factor that could trigger a market slide is the realisation by U.S. investors that President Ronald Reagan has no real intention of cutting his budgetary deficits. The importance often to trim the

administration's overpending in the current fiscal year is only a mild forecast of what is to come.

Washington insiders now expect a 200 billion deficit of 2100 billion. With the death of Leonid Brezhnev and the expected freeze in the little debate remaining between East and West, U.S. military expenditures will soon overtake Japan. To meet what they perceive to be the newest Soviet challenge—weapons that can destroy the U.S. space facilities on which most military communications depend—the United States is planning a whole new generation of defence systems that will enable the 1994 federal deficit to a probable \$300 billion, with \$200 billion already being allocated for 1985. The fact that such combined debt amounts to 48 per cent of all the deficits run up by U.S. governments since George Washington first started keeping accounts ledgers is less important than its effect on current capital markets.

The problem areas of public financing is a growing problem on both sides of the 49th parallel. Demand for credit in Canada during 1980 is expected to total about \$20 billion. At least half this sum will be accounted for by federal, provincial and municipal financing issues. The only reason markets can handle public debt loads of this magnitude is because of the drastically reduced flow of private borrowing. As public financing requirements continue to balloon, they will become the dominant pressure in pushing interest rates back to the kind of stratospheric levels that crank economic activity. It is in the solution to this vicious circle that must become Finance Minister Marc Lalonde's top priority.

Brian Stock, the president of Norbitt Thomson Bagnall, rightly points out. "There is little question that the most serious short-run problem in Canada today are the total absence of liquidity in the private sector and the general lack of confidence. Without an injection of permanent equity capital and lower interest costs, a number of corporations will be in financial ruin." Given our pressing economic state, one cannot expect quick equities. Perhaps what is most frustrating is that the extent and rigidity of any change rests almost solely in the hands of our politicians.

The last advice to stock market players remains the same as it has always been: buy on expectation, sell on results, and never, never place in to protect past investment mistakes.



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Sugar Ray with Howard Cosell in a

He deserved his own nickname, and has borrowed from a former great, but, when *Sugar Ray* Leonard walked away from boxing last week at 35, he left with body, mind and bank account intact—perhaps the greatest victory of his or any black boxer's career. The "science" was briefly sweeter for his reign. Handmade, charismatic, Ray Charles Leonard (named after the famed blues singer), the undisputed welterweight champion of the world, upended the coronation of Muhammad Ali, the only boxer in history to rise more and to dominate opponents and capture the hearts of fans as Leonard did. Ali celebrated him to come back from successful surgery that required a detached extra lung. Ray to fight midweight champ Marvin Hagler and become "the greatest of all time," as boxer Ali had previously claimed for himself. But too many champions before him, particularly Ali, had lagged too long and become parodies of their talented selves. While Leonard acknowledged that a long-awaited showdown with Hagler would be "one of the greatest fights in history," and probably the richest, he added, "Unfortunately, it will never happen."

After winning the 1978 Olympic light welterweight gold medal in Montreal, Leonard quit boxing, saying, "My journey has ended." But his parents' illnesses and a paternity suit filed by *Shawn* *Wasserman* (whom he married three years later) forced him back to the ring. A well-managed instant star, thanks to a

Shawn's spruce-up posse: a 'housewife' touch



\$40 million (Ali, in a much longer career, earned \$60 million), Leonard last week signed a multiyear sportscasting contract with *Flower Box Office*. He will also have his own show and will cohost some sports segments with *Dick Cavett* on the U.S. cable TV network. Aside from his new career, Leonard plans to relax and enjoy his family, commenting, "What more can a person ask?" Certainly, boxing could never ask more of any champion.

It's in the fast lane took on mind-boggling proportions as *Fallout* battled *Palladia* in the Palm Beach, Fla., divorce case so sensitive that the *National Enquirer* decided to ignore it. *Martin O'Sullivan*, a publicity agent for the tabloid, said after the trial ended last week that the *Enquirer* tries to get "an inside line" on such stories. But every form of press media from *Reuters* to *The Star* gave such a detailed account of the "daily circus in the courts" that "there is not much of anything new [the *Enquirer*] could offer." Although a rival tabloid, the *New York Post*, was hit with a \$10-million libel suit by *Rebecca Packer*, 31, for its coverage of her alleged bedroom scenes, O'Sullivan scoffed at the suggestion that fear of a suit would have anything to do with an *Enquirer* story. "This wouldn't deter them unless it was clearly an illegal thing," he said.

Christmas is coming, but instead of getting fast, the game in the Toronto Eaton Center has sprouted red bows, and their center is not planned. The game is *Shawn's*, a flock of three-glass hangers hanging 10 to 20 m above ground level, were designed by Canadian artist *Michael Snow*, 52. Since their installation three years ago, the game has been peacefully and unannounced. Why the center's staff suddenly decided to spruce them up is not known, but the deed was done without consulting Snow. "Michael is very upset," says his coauthor *Peggy Shaw*, 35, a Toronto native. Snow is the brother of Shawn's child. "They don't have Christmas lights on *Henry Moore's* sculptures" *But* *Delightfully*, the general manager of the Eaton Center, refuses to comment on the matter except to call Snow "one of the finest artists in Canada." Snow maintains that reputation has been damaged and says he has instructed his lawyer to prepare a formal letter stating that he will sue if the bows are not removed immediately. Red ribbons on Christmas wreaths is one thing, but on a work of art, "It is kind of insulting," he says.

—EDITED BY BARBARA JOHNSON



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# New bird beams over troubled terrain

By Ann Walmsley

"We are two for two. We deliver!" With those words, American space shuttle *Space Shuttle Atlantis* announced to the world last Friday that the gleaming Anik C3 satellite had successfully sprung from the Columbia's cargo bay. To the strains of the second track from 1992, *A Shore Delmar*, prompted into the main, the shuttle automatically fired the explosive bolts and springs that gently shunted Anik C from its aluminum cradle. Forty-five minutes later the gleaming Telesat Canada satellite is on its own solid-fuel booster rockets 125 km from the shuttle's orbit at 225 km in an egg-shaped path 25,000 km above Earth.

Over the course of the next week the 1,200-kg satellite is similar to U.S. satellite was launched earlier in the flight) will raise its disk-shaped antenna lower solar power panels and settle into its equatorial parking space 25,000 km above the Pacific Ocean, due south of the Rockies. For satellites, the position there the equator at which signals move in sync with the Earth's rotation is an increasingly crowded space. But Anik C is far more powerful and quite unlike its celestial companions. It will deliver a new age of small, rooftop receiving dishes that could revolutionize communications in Canada and supply regulatory bodies with a new set of other-worldly bandwagons.

From its conception in Telesat's Ottawa offices seven years ago, the \$20-million satellite has been tended with authority care. Manufactured by Hughes Aircraft Co. of Culver City with participation from Toronto's Spar Aerospace Ltd., Anik was flown from Toronto by commercial Canadian launchers on July 20 NASA engineers gingerly loaded the fragile cargo, along with an American companion, the SciSat Business Systems satellite, into the shuttle in mid-September.

In the end, Telesat had nothing to fear. NASA's space freighter thundered off on its first business trip, earning the world's first commercial direct-broadcast satellite with barely a hitch. In addition, it was a success. The \$10-million fare charged by NASA was awarded the cost of a traditional launch by disposable rocket.

The low-cost-high communications satellite, Canada's sixth into orbit, looks differently sleek and resolute



Columbia's perfect fifth launch is key to

a giant redoubt garbage can that has slipped its lid. In fact, it is the latest achievement in a succession of postwar Canadian communications leaps. With Anik C3 and its two planned successors, Anik C4 (due for an April, 1993 launch) and C1 (1994), Telesat-Canada's space communications agency has pioneered a powerful first-generation satellite for direct-to-home television broadcasting.

The five early Canadian satellites, or "birds," were much smaller, weaker, requiring broad dish antennas costing thousands of dollars to receive the TV images. Consumers relied on the cable companies to receive the signals bouncing from the satellites, amplify them and

pass them through wires to the living room TV set. The new birds, transmitting on a higher 14/12 gigahertz (GHz) frequency in four regional beams across Canada, will cut out the wilderness by providing stronger signals that will be received on smaller 1.5- to 1.8-m rooftop dishes which will be available to all consumers cheaply. The new Anik will allow Canadian broadcasters, particularly the country's six new pay TV systems, which will begin broadcasting in February on Anik C3, to supply viewers by cable where it exists or by direct broadcast where it does not.

To prevent piracy by nontpaying dish viewers, broadcasters plan to electronically scramble their programs and supply paying consumers with sophisticated decoders. The market in Canada will be substantial. An estimated 1.1 million homes are beyond the reach of cable, relying on traditional aluminum rooftop antennas to receive one or two channels.

Even without Anik C, there has been a recent increase in access to multi-channel signals in Canada. Northern and isolated communities and some commercial hubs and hotels defied the law and installed large dishes on existing 6/4 inch lands now that these American dishes remain illegal, but Ottawa has decided not to prosecute individuals. In addition, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission allowed Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. of Toronto (CANSAT) to introduce four Canadian TV channels received by large dishes from first-generation Canadian satellites. So far, CANSAT has succeeded in reaching only 200,000 homes. The main introduction of direct broadcast satellites (DBS)—where Ottawa is already well-served by U.S. predecessors—has come again raised the spectre of so-called open skies, filed from any source.

But, even as the new technological toy hurled into orbit, fully four years before Canada's nearest competitor, DBS pioneers, such as Toronto entrepreneur Ted Jarmann, fretted that nervous bureaucrats and mollusc-like regulatory bodies may inhibit the system's full commercial potential. Worse, the delays may allow competitors, such as the United States and Japan, to catch up and install Canada's in the worldwide TV market.

The Anik C3 and offshoots in the wake of the 20th anniversary of Canada's first satellite launch on Sept. 20, 1963, at the time Canada (along with the United States and the Soviet Union) to launch a satellite, with its small Alouette 1—a scientific probe designed to explore the ionosphere. In 1973 Telesat Canada, a joint venture by the federal government and communications companies, became the basis for the world's first domestic satellite communications system and launched the first in a family of satellites called "Anik" (Anik for "It's in the air").

If Canada's regulatory bodies appear unprepared for the challenges of this, it is not for lack of warning. Long before plans for Anik C left Telesat's drawing boards, Canada participated in a joint project with the United States by building and launching a domestic experimental spacecraft called Hermes. After its 1976 launch, Hermes beamed adult-education programming directly into isolated northern arctic communities and logging camps on the powerful 14/12 GHz band. Two pilot projects on the Anik B11 channels later provided television transmissions to selected home dishes in British Columbia and Ontario.

The significance of the success was that Anik C3, in addition to carrying six pay-TV services, will now deliver several regional Canadian educational channels, such as British Columbia's Knowledge Network and Alberta's Aurora. After Anik C3's launch next year, 18 of the 36 channels will be reserved for LPV, an American DBS company that will use the system again until the time requires in December, 1994. After that, Telesat hopes that DBS will clear enough regulatory hurdles to make way for Canadian control.

It will likely be a success with consumers. Supporters have visions of small towns and hamlets dappled with skyward-pointing receivers. Dish antennas, most as unapologetically as an aspirin, buy at only \$100 and ship to homes in 1.2 m and 1.8 m and sell for only \$1,500.



Anik C3 springing from its cargo bay. That's two for two. We deliver!

Monthly equipment rentals would average \$15, comparable to the cost of receiving one pay TV service over cable. Plus for once more powerful DBS satellites may mean that consumers could buy functional dishes as small as 30 to 45 cm for as little as \$250. "There you start talking less than half the cost of a TV set for 100 megahertz," says Jack Chisholm, director general of FCC space communications planning. "It be-

comes revolutionary." Acceptance will also be swift, according to FCC surveys. Within the first three years on the market, an estimated 525,000-plus homes will have into Alexander Cables, for now not an instant deputy minister in charge of the Canadian space program and president of Solutecore's two Systems Inc., a high-technology company, says the program must be "cheaper than cable, which has the potential for more than 100 channels. But the expectation is that new cable subscribers, viewed on one or two long-planned stations, will be content with 16 to 25 channels. For their part, cable companies claim they are not disturbed by the upstart in the skies. Nicholas Hand-Smith, president of the Canadian Cable Television Association, is confident that they will not supply traditional services because it will operate entirely in areas without



ANIK C's REGIONAL BEAMS

ment a direct challenge to its mandate to defend Canada's national fabric and the 18-billion broadcasting industry against challenges from the likes of Lawrence and Shirley Criss. View DBS as the most serious source of Hollywood infiltration to date because the absence of a middleman eliminates the government's control over content or distribution. These fears will become more acute in 1993 when Anik C3 switches on. Even though the satellite's life of communications beams will nearly hit the U.S. audience, mostly the signal will stay in Canada. The stage was set two weeks ago for a continuing DBS boom. The U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approved applications by seven U.S. compa-

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Anik leaves the shuttle: a space odyssey

ness, including CSE, RCA, American Communications and Western Union Telegraph, to broadcast direct-to-house in the mid-1980s.

Since TSS signals can be controlled before the courts as broadcasts and not as private distribution by cable or other transaction, the government will be legally powerless to prevent Canadian viewers from tuning in U.S. signals. New, sophisticated scramblers may divert some would-be watchers, but some analysts suggest that as much as 40 per cent of the programming may not be scrambled. Electronic technicians predict that unscrupulous viewers will even crack scrambled signals with illegal made-to-order decoders.

In a firing of regulatory muscle, federal Communications Minister Francis Fox last month announced a crackdown on old 6A GHz satellite dishes. But Fox's linked broadcasting strategy, due to be tabled in the House as a green paper later this month, reveals that

in areas where the population is too dispersed to support cable or even community retransmission operations, direct satellite reception is the least of the only alternative and should be encouraged. "As well, Northington says that it has been previously assumed by CSE that its system will be accommodated.

Fox's critics need his reform spirit as too little, too late. Already the Canadian issue may be devastating—and a psychological blow is a nation regarded as the world leader in communications satellite technology. No other Canadian company has joined Jerusalem's fight against the regulations. Meanwhile, Telus has already turned away five applicants from U.S. companies to use Anik C-2 as an interim direct satellite. Industry hopes for marketing Anik C-2 to Third World countries are also considerably dampened by the lack of a Canadian commercial DSS system.

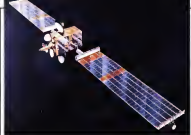
Ray Shih, a television columnist, writes in the Toronto communications publication The Daily Report that Canada's failure to market its technology

has allowed U.S. experimentation to slip into the hands of the United States, Europe and Japan, who all have plans to start DSS systems by the mid-1990s (page B9). Manufacturers of Canadian earth stations are the worst hit. They expect virtually no sales as a result of the recent sales of Japanese out-race equipment. "Unfortunately the Canadian government has lobbied the technology," says Alexander Curran. "With Japanese price-cutting in the U.S. market, Canadian equipment will be forced to assembly."

Against this backdrop, dreams about the future of Canadian communications satellites may not be fulfilled. But, as Telus officials returned from Cape Canaveral, they were considering possible successors to the Anik C-2. Andrew Molson, director of space industry development at CSE, favours future Anik E's and P's that could double the power of the current generation. By the 1990s a new wave of satellites, such as Canada's much-touted and even more powerful M sat, could reduce satellite dishes to the size of wristwatches. But, Curran notes, the advances will only come if the growing pains of the new developments are endured quickly. Warren Telus President Rolfen Thompson "Optimistic is about as much as I can say for a second time, it probably will not look again."

With Peter Meek in London and Mike Toner at Cape Canaveral.

Jerome: legal satellite dishes at last



LMF reporting Canadian solar panels global village or over-the-horizon signaling?

## Dividing up the heavens

The magic terrestrial gift of communications orbit 30,000 km in space shows the operator will soon have to accommodate another cluster of international DSS satellites, in addition to the new Canadian and U.S. "berk" European countries, where cable television has made only moderate inroads and viewers gladly choose among very few stations, are anxious to embrace the North American technology. As a result, there will be a race to place powerful multichannel direct-broadcast bands over Western Europe by the late 1980s. But jurisdictional squabbles loom as governments grow uneasy about movable cross-border splashes of programming, advertising and possible propaganda.

The package is not confined to Europe. At least 30 DSS satellites from around the world are expected to be in use by the late 1990s. First up will be Japan's two-channel n-8 satellite in early 1984. Next on air will be the German TVSAT and the French two-1. Among the most surprising (to Canadians outside North America is Britain, where only 14 per cent of homes are hooked up to cable. By 1986 the net will use its INSAT-1 to beam two new channels—one for subscription pay TV and one for prime-time programs. The other nations will have to wait. The DSS capability of countries belonging to the Paris-based European Space Agency consortium (including Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and Spain) will not be available until the agency's 1986 launch of the experimental EUS-1 satellite (carried by Canadian solar collector panels).

Even tiny Luxembourg, however, is an aggressor in the communications race. Radio-Télé Luxembourg's (RTL) proposed superstation plans to broadcast in several languages, with signals enjoying the Canadian France, which would receive a stronger signal from RTL than from its own satellite, leads the lobby to delay RTL's plans.

At a succession of United Nations conferences on the peaceful use of outer space the issue of how to preserve national identity and fend off foreign propaganda found the United States and the Soviet Union on opposite sides. The Soviet Union has demanded an immediate restriction of power content from a re-organizing action before another country can transmit broadcasts over its territory. The United States has taken a breezy and more commercial stance, stressing freedom of information.

More specifically, countries have agreed to divide up the increasingly crowded potpourri orbit, ensuring that late-blooming Third World countries will be able to reserve parking spots. At a 1971 World Administrative Radio Conference for the Eastern Hemisphere, member countries agreed on a division of channels and frequencies.

Rat, as China, India, South Africa, Australia and the Arab bloc join the DSS scramble, critics about the irrelevance of bordering satellites as well. Without mentioning the United States by name, Herold affirms that it will not launch a DSS satellite for fear that the resulting sea of DSS receivers will leave it vulnerable to propaganda by foreign satellites. It is a fear that feeds an uncomfortable home in Canada. —A.W.

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ductions. The AM station is longer  
on-air after midnight, CBNV has  
dropped two syndicated shows, and  
plans for improving the signal have  
been postponed indefinitely. Says David  
Marshall, program director of CBNV: "It  
is a little town, the Bank of Montreal  
building or a very tall pine standing at  
the corner of Bloor and Yonge with a  
transmitter on its head, I don't care.  
We just want to be heard."

For those who have been listening,  
the greatest fear is that new owners  
may tamper with CBNV's choice of mus-  
ic. There are rumors that at least one  
of the potential buyers is planning a  
country music format—a change likely  
to infuriate the local audience. When  
the station was up for sale in 1979,  
100,000 listeners signed a petition stric-  
ting the CBNV to "stay real radio."

While 200,000 listeners of CBNV and  
some 50 employees at the station fret  
about the programming, a Christian official  
says the station will likely be sold to  
the highest bidder. (Hearders estimate  
the asking price to be \$6 million for the  
two stations.) "A license is the property  
of the Canadian people, but the transac-  
tion is relevant to interfere in a more  
or less common business transaction,"  
says Syd Frenkel, director of the  
CBC's Broadcast Programs Analysis  
Branch. "Interference on the transac-  
tion's part would likely discourage pri-  
vate business from investing in broad-  
casting." Therefore, a station that  
gives more emphasis on artistic pos-  
sibilities than the bottom line of the balance  
sheet is now about to be treated as just  
another troubled business. "There's  
more to life than the Top 18," says  
Marshall. "I only hope we get a chance  
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—PAUL McDONALD in Toronto

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## FOR THE RECORD

# Different drummers

## MUSIC AND RHYTHM

Various Artists  
(Piasport/A & M)

The *drummers* of contemporary popular music have led many artists in other cultures in search of inspiration. Increasingly, bands such as Talking Heads and The Police are incorporating African or West Indian rhythms into their futuristic sound. Just how rich and varied that mix can be is evident on *Music and Rhythm*, a double-record set featuring musicians from more than 10 countries. The "best" album was intended to effect the fabric of a large multicultural festival held in England last summer. The collection places rock music, from former Genesis singer (and festival promoter) Peter Gabriel to The Who's Peter Townshend, alongside the primal sounds of Burundi drummers and Quorwah singers from Pakistan. Covering the ground in between are Prince Nio's Mbura and Baccidi Jams from Nigeria and Jamaican calypso singer Mighty Sparrow. The electronic experiments of Canada's Jon Hassell and Germany's Helge Ceylan explore the new territory of what Hassell calls "future primitivism."

The major influence of Third World music on Western pop is the emphasis on rhythm over melody, as exemplified by Gabriel's *Atrium* (the *Inner and Outer*), *Antennae*, *Ten*. However, neither is as explicitly percussive as Prince Nio's *Sweet Market*, in which drums are the central instruments. Popular bands such as TTC and The English Beat blend exotic flavors into their music, making African pop more accessible to Western audiences. When Hassell combines his trumpet with talking drums and synthesizers in *Be Bop*, recorded last year at the Guelph College of Art, he creates a new synthesis which merges African motifs with modern electronic sounds.

The traditional selections are as exciting as the hybrids and the experimental pieces. The complex percussion of the Drums of Malaksho from Borani and Abhis Ibrahim Abdala and his Dagbani Cultural Group from Ghana may be too dense for the impatient listener. But these cuts, like most of the package, demand a willing ear to discover the varied gifts of rhythm.

—NICHOLAS JENNINGS



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## Pop without the punch

Coke and Pepsi are feuding again. But this time the cola war has shifted from rivalry over taste to concern about the cola ingredient caffeine, the controversial stimulant found in other beverages such as coffee and tea. In a bid to catch on to the public's increased awareness of caffeine's

slightly detrimental effects on humans, Pepsi-Cola last last month uncapped two decaffeinated colas in Canada. Pepsi First, 99.5 per cent caffeine free, and diet Pepsi First, with no caffeine and no sugar. Then, not to be outdone, Coca-Cola introduced its new product, diet Coke, containing the artifi-

cial sweetener aspartame, two days later. (It does not plan to introduce a caffeine-free cola.) Seven-Up also has launched a media blitz to promote its lemon-lime "Zero" as "crisp and clean with no caffeine." It has never contained the stimulant.

Like the coffee industry in the mid-1970s, soft drink manufacturers are using a plethora of ads to imply that caffeine may be deleterious to human health. While medical evidence about caffeine is inconclusive, concern about the stimulant has grown since a 1990 U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) study linked massive doses of caffeine to birth defects in laboratory rats. However, new Harvard Medical School studies that challenge the FDA findings and give caffeine—used in moderation—a clean bill of health may allay some of the anxiety. In Canada, despite the fact that the federal Health Protection Branch currently lists the stimulant as a safe food ingredient, Pepsi-Cola Canada President Thomas MacLeod contends that there is also increasing worry about the substance's safety. Of 1,500 soft drink consumers surveyed by Pepsi, 94 per cent said they have cut down their caffeine intake.

*In a bid to cash in on the public's increasing wariness of caffeine, Pepsi has uncapped two decaffeinated colas*

Pepsi is not the first soft drink manufacturer to capitalize on the caffeine-free trend. For at least eight months Seven-Up has been running TV commercials promoting its lack of caffeine. The latest ad features a man who asks "Are you concerned about caffeine?" Of course you are." In Canada a newspaper ad takes a similar, but tougher, approach. Beneath a headline that reads, IF YOU DON'T WANT CAFFEINE, THE CHOICE IS CLEAR, three soft drinks are lined up: Coke, with 31 mg of caffeine; Pepsi, with 35 mg; and Seven-Up, with no caffeine.

To maintain its spot as the best-seller while its archrival unveiled Pepsi First, Coca-Cola aired an expensive TV ad with Bob Hope, Telly Savalas and seven other Hollywood stars, selling its diet product. For now, Coke plans to keep tabs on the new decaffeinated intruders but it has no plans to follow suit. "Our research shows that, by and large, consumers want caffeine," says Coca-Cola Canada President Neville Reinmann. Should that research fall flat, however, he makes it clear that Coke will be eager to enter the decaffeinated market. —CARRIE BLOOM in Toronto



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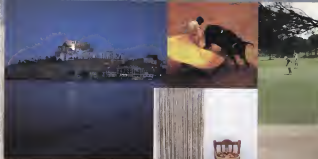
reverse comes from our fishing industry. It is a fact that the trout has to look after his lands if he is to survive."

But, if Greenland's door is closed to tourists, it is open to most other things Canadian. Along with fresh produce, Canadian down-filled parkas and woolen socks are big sellers in stores from Nuuk to Qaanaaq, Narsart, which begins breathy flights between Montreal, Frobisher Bay and Nuuk in co-operation with First Air and Greenlandair last year, in studying the feasibility of shipping Canadian-made snowmobiles to Greenland. "The way it is just now is that snowmobiles are shipped out of New York to Copenhagen and back by boat to Greenland," says George Honey, Narsart's manager for its northern division. Honey adds that other Canadian manufacturers are just beginning to make inquiries about the untapped Greenland market. Canadian tourists are also becoming a familiar sight to Greenlanders. Travel agents are reporting some success in this summer's campaign to convince Canadian holidaymakers that it might be better, if cooler, in Upernivik.

Greenland's trade door swings the other way, too. Since home rule came into effect, Greenland's exports to Canada have jumped from \$267,000 in 1979 to \$1 million in 1981. Maude Farnwe, a high school principal in Frobisher Bay, admits that he runs "an extra block to work off the Danish pastries that are flown in from Nuuk." Shrimp, fresh from the waters of Disko Bay, are appearing on restaurant menus in Montreal. And, to encourage trade among operators this month, a Greenland food co-operative will treat chefs in Ottawa to a fare of reindeer sausage and steak, and drinks served over glacier ice.

If glasses are dimming, smiles are still somewhat wary. For most Canadians the island remains an icy unknown. Greenland's culture is as much a product of its historic European background as of its Inuit heritage. At the same time, the people of Greenland, heavily with the effects of home rule, are purposefully pursuing a course toward political autonomy. "The Canadian Inuit has a much softer approach to political change," says the Iq for the western and central Arctic riding of Nanisivik, Peter Scholten. "We respect the Greenlanders for what they have accomplished, but they developed along different paths than we did and are moving in different directions." For their part, Greenlanders are also travelling curiously on Canadian shores. "We are moving lightly," says Finn Lyngby. "We would be as awkward being monopolized by Canada as we would by Europe." Still, the Greenland-Canada connection is clearly warming up.

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## AGRICULTURE

### No bowl full of cherries

It seems like the last thing Japan, the land of the cherry blossom, would need—Canadian cherries. But next spring Japan will finally import Canadian cherries to complement domestic supply. British Columbia fruit growers hope that the first Canadian fruit ever approved for export to the potentially huge Japanese market will also act as a wedge for other previously banned crop imports.

The reason for the restriction was the codling moth—a fruit pest not present in Japan. The vanquishing of the insect marks a research coup for Canadian agricultural scientists. Decade-old export hopes by B.C. Tree Fruit Ltd. (BCTF), the growers' marketing agency, have been stymied by arduous standards governing plant imports into Japan.

The breakthrough was achieved when American scientists with the department of agriculture learned how to treat cherries with methyl bromide, a highly toxic gas used to fumigate grain elevators. It took Alan Gassan, a research scientist at the Agriculture Research Station in Summerland, B.C., and staves entomologist Harold Madara three years of sidewalk to sidewalk, the U.S. government in Canadian roadsides while proving that cherry consumers would not suffer subsequent harm.

There was a kamikaze setback this season, however, when the first Canadian crop scheduled for export failed to materialize. With demonstration fumigation facilities costing \$20,000 in place, an ill-timed rainfall caused the June cherries to split—devastating the year's crop. Undaunted, the growers intend to repeat all the preparations next June in order to make the long-awaited sale to Japan. At peak retail price they could sell for about \$11 a kilogram, four times the top Canadian price.

At the same time, Summerland scientists are busy drawing up plans for studies to eliminate codling moths from apple for export to Japan. "We broke a barrier," says the University of B.C.'s former chief executive officer. Success will be lucrative. The Japanese annual consumption of 15 million bushels of apples is double British Columbia's entire production. But this time the fruit growers are up against a fierce Japanese apple lobby—now just a mere fruit mock. —SUSANNE DWAREN in Calgary



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## AMSTEL BEER

### THE CANADIAN LAGER WITH THE DUTCH TOUCH

## A new opiate for the masses



The Wierwille annual book-burnings

North America is currently the services best to more than 3,000 self-avowed ex-Christians and ex-Spiritists, many of which operate and expand under a cloak of secrecy. Now, a low-profile, fundamentalist Christian sect with more adherents in the United States than the Unification Church (Moonism) and second in size only to the Church of Scientology is intent on ex-

tablishing a foothold in Canada. Its institutional base will be The Way International's College of Biblical Research, which recently opened in London, Ont. The move is controversial. Anticatholic groups and ex-members charge that anti-Semitism, book-burnings, and mind-control techniques mar the image

of The Way. But leaders of what is considered one of the largest new religions in North America tell the sensational incident is a distortion "inspired by all this publicity," says Way Canada Coordinator Danny Stephenson. "We simply want people to get back to the word of God."

The word of God, according to The Way, was first heard in 1912 by Victor Paul Wierwille, a seminary graduate from the Ohio Bible Belt. Claiming that he had been inspired by a vision that told him to preach the word of God to the world, Wierwille migrated to San Francisco, where he was able to exploit the popularity of the 1960s Jesus movement and lay the groundwork for his international mission. Today, Wierwille is the guiding light behind a \$20- to \$30-million, tax-exempt empire that encompasses 62 countries and includes a following that has been estimated at anywhere from 60,000 to 100,000. (Way spokesmen will only confirm that it numbers more than 60,000.)

Although The Way's presence in Canada truly took almost a decade, the group's activities are largely unknown. Nevertheless, one Toronto ex-member, who asked that his name not be used, says that the 300-member following in Canada should spread over the college's four-year program begun. (A year's tuition and accommodation in the United

States costs \$6,380.) All students spend one year travelling and attempting to earn new recruits as part of their studies. The London school is a two-story mansion and the first such centre outside the United States, which has five colleges. Roundabout because of immigration problems in bringing foreign students into U.S. Way colleges, the London school will house and instruct about 40 Way Corps members from Europe, South America, Africa and Canada. Classes have been running informally while Way officials wait for the completion of the federal Employment and Immigration Commission's requested review of the school's foreign faculty and for a standard entry check, which could take months to wrap up.

The entrance prerequisite to the college or any other organizational limb on the Way hierarchy, or "tree," is the Power for Abundant Living course—an intense, 36-hour, \$130 to \$200 introduction to Wierwille's gospel. And the key to the course, says Christine Demkowich, a 24-year-old ex-member from Toronto, is not speaking in tongues. The stream-of-consciousness words and sounds are used as a deliverance device, she says. "Anytime you or someone else questions the group," explains Demkowich, "they just turn on the tapes." For six months last year (until her mother managed to get her deprogrammed), Demkowich cleaned Ottawa homes by day and ran the streets and bars until late evening, spreading The Way word as a "Word Over the World" ambassador. It is now that is considered the country's "normal free lines." High schools are another target for ambassadors seeking converts, says Demkowich, but she claims that Way leaders also insisted that potential recruits be able to afford the courses and hold her. "We just want people with money in the bank."

Way leaders seem to have attracted as a base a lot of moneyed people to help subsidize Wierwille's highly personal dream. A new 150,000-sq-ft computerized administration building, along with film and publicist facilities and residences for about 60 staff and students, has been built at Way headquarters, alongside the New Knoxville, Ohio, farmhouse where Wierwille was born. But, if the U.S. colleges are any indication, the London community may remain Wierwille's mainstay of The Way. So-called "barter study" courses, for example—where involved the handling of grain—have been established because of bad publicity in the United States. And Way International classrooms are barred to outsiders.

Apart from a fundamentalist approach to the Bible, Way teaching questions the reality of the Holocaust through a supposed reading list that

includes *The House of the Tenthredin* Century by Arthur Bels and *The Myth of the Star of David* by Andrew Malestini, a Toronto psychiatrist who has written a book on cults, myths that and other Way literature "anti-Semitism of the most disgusting sort." Stephenson, however, counters the matter as instructional "spice" rather than Way "error." Way members are also encouraged to participate in book-burnings on Uncle Harry Day (March 15). Stephenson says the incinerations are more symbolic than censorious. "Uncle Harry (Wierwille's deceased and late husband) is a great example of a man who didn't have any

junk in his life holding him back," he says.

To kindly say that new religions are dangerous is to ignore history, says Rodney Sawing, a professor specializing in 20th-century religions at the University of Waterloo's Conrad Grebel College. He argues that all of today's great religions were at one time perceived as a threat to the dominant society. Although Malestini does not dispute the history lesson, it offers him no comfort. "If The Way is the future of the next great religion, God help us."

—VICTOR PATRICK, with Andre Carlini in Toronto

## Pulp and Paper Reports:

## Canada's Share



CANADA'S SHARE OF  
WORLD'S FOREST  
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(Source: FAO)



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## BOOKS

### A vocabulary of wonder

DICTIONARY OF NEWFOUNDLAND ENGLISH  
Edited by G.M. Story, W.J. Kinane,  
J.D.A. Widdowson  
(University of Toronto Press, 622 pages,  
\$25.95)

Whether the tidbits or potpourris may swing the provinces, Newfoundland's linguistic mooring holds fast. For documentation of the centuries of quiring, encyclopedic nibbling on the island and the inventive and wobbly survival of a people, this dictionary provides a full measure. The work captures vividly the vocabulary that evolved in splendid isolation from its West Country English and southwestern Irish roots. As one 18th-century chronicler wrote, "They speak English but they have a manner peculiar (not to themselves....)" The volume is a tracing note for those who fear that verbal sophistication in Canada has peaked with the McKinnon Brothers. And it is a book that can knock you off your seat with laughter eye moment and place you in wonder the next.

#### MACLEAN'S BEST SELLER LIST

##### Fiction

- 1 *Spartan*, Wolfenbut (2)
- 2 *Master of the Game*, Shubert (2)
- 3 *Different Seasons*, King (2)
- 4 *The Pearl in the Mouth*, Jordan (2)
- 5 *The Invisible Daughter*, Archer (2)
- 6 *The House of Japheth*, Morris (2)
- 7 *The Valley of Bones*, Axel (2)
- 8 *Leviathan*, Coates (2)
- 9 *Foundations of the Edge*, Jensen (2)
- 10 *The White Plains*, Herbert (2)

##### Non-Fiction

- 1 *The Establishment Men: A Portrait of Power*, Freeman (2)
- 2 *Towers of Gold*, Post of Clay, Stewart (2)
- 3 *John F. Kennedy's Workbooks*, Kennedy (2)
- 4 *Walker in the Wilderness*, Pottersmeyer (2)
- 5 *Harvey and Bill in the NW*, Delack and Young (2)
- 6 *Canada with Love*, Monk (2)
- 7 *Life Extension*, Pearson and Shaw (2)
- 8 *Naked in the Sun*, Marg, Jellison and Taylor (2)
- 9 *Griffin: An Intimate Portrait of the Liberal Party*, McGillivray (2)
- 10 *The Great Code*, Price (2)
- 11 *Prisoners of War*, (2)

Considered more than 80 years ago by three scholars at Memorial University, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* was compiled from a wide range and variety of source material. Printed words of course form the basis of any dictionary that intends, as this one does, to annotate the history of the words it defines. The editors have consulted narratives, journals (starting with those of John Cabot and Sir Humphrey Gilbert), histories, ballads, magazines, newspapers, maps, marine surveys, the lists of earlier collectors, plays, poems and stories. They have also collected extensive anecdotal information in the field—a wealth of interviews, conversations, tapes, notes from "the ordinary course of living, and listening, in Newfoundland"—all of which infuses the dictionary with contentment, tang and muscle.

The criteria for inclusion in this work are precise and strict: words originating in Newfoundland (people, landscape, nature), words still in use after dying out or declining elsewhere (inside from, jump), words that take special forms or meanings in the province (grapple, knock, left), and finally, common words that are essential to Newfoundland speech (ice, shore, water). With equal firmness the editors reject such labels as "slang," "colloquial" or "literary," insisting cheerfully that Newfoundland usage

Terms a continuum of cultivated and popular speech." Often, they were surprised to hear conversational words long absent from printed records.

The major problem of onomatopoeia, according to editor George Story, was to achieve a "clarity of form." Metaphors cross-referencing cause the reader's search for virtually any word on the first attempt. The lexicographers also had to wrestle with individual words that come in a profusion of spellings.

### The Dictionary of Newfoundland English distills the history of the island through its quirky, vital language

and pronunciation—among them, *bel-buster* (the frangy of sex formed by spray and waves along a shoreline), *post-ovary* (bypass, often) and *unquiver* (a weak, lay or life person). *Machine* is defined as "contraption" or "ultrapropaganda" but is used to describe almost anything, including a patient describing a malady to the doctor. "Look at the big machine I've got on my hand." Newfoundlanders, the dictionary suggests, seem to be at their semantic best with

words to describe objects or people whose names they have momentarily forgotten. There is, for instance, *beebie* (a male who is an "unknown or unspecified person") and *omniscient* (a "remarkable sight," as "a polar bear in a fish-net").

Although this is a dictionary of historical principles and a work of immense and painstaking technical scholarship, the editors insist that one of its chief functions should be to keep Newfoundland English alive—not frozen or gilded. Every page turns up delight. *Grass and quick* are verbs for sexual sport, a *gully* is "a small pond or series of linked ponds." On the basis of the words and contents in the dictionary, the prospects are good that regional variations of our language will withstand the homogenizing forces of mobility and the media. (Glenade Bingham's *The Quibbets Dictionary* has just been published in English, and work is under way on a volume for Prince Edward Island.)

The *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* distills the historical sweep of Canada's most idiosyncratic province. It is a book to be savored as it evokes the flavors of halibut, berry, onion and salt water. Like a minutely detailed atlas of a country we know or wish to know, this book never ceases to prompt riches.

—DOUGLAS BELL

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## Public displays of an ancient art

Eighteen months ago Toronto filmmaker Ron Mann begrudgingly accompanied a friend to a poetry reading featuring American John Giorno. Used that night Mann's opinion of poetry probably evolved that of most Canadians. "Frankly, I thought poetry was a pretentious old-fashioned thing. It didn't speak to anyone anymore," Giorno's banterful performance not only reversed Mann's attitude to literature's ancient art, but it also gave him the subject of his next film. Thousands of air miles, \$10,000 and not a less editing hours later, *Poetry in Motion* is beginning to reap rewards.

For 56-year-old Mann, in September it was a surprise box office success at Toronto's Festival of Festivals and earlier this month it was the Best Documentary Award in Arts and the equivalent at the Chicago Film Festival. The result is commercial theatrical release for the film—rare exposure for a documentary—including an opening in Toronto this week and future engagements planned for other major Canadian cities.

*Poetry in Motion* is an unprecedented, 90-minute film anthology of 24 U.S. and Canadian poets reading, chanting and even singing their work. The stars range from well-known veterans Allen Ginsberg and Charles Bukowski through such talented newcomers as Tereza Jirassakuldech. Mann's experiments of The Four Horsemen. Mann modestly attributes the initial success of the film less to his considerable film-making skills than to a resurgence of poetry as a public, performance-oriented art. "It's interesting, such as the Soviet Union or Italy, people think nothing of a crowd of 5,000 or 10,000 at a poetry reading. In North America we're only beginning to discover poetry's tremendous dynamism," he says.

"That dynamism—a matter of the supercharged relationship between poet and audience—leaps off the screen in several of the public readings Mann filmed in New York. William S. Burroughs, the hawk-faced author of the

classic novel about a homosexual junkie, *Naked Lunch*, informs rudely under a single spotlight. In such scenes Mann clearly enjoys showing the faces of the audience—in many live performance films do not—thereby connecting the viewer to the performer with an intense directness.

By rapidly converting the live-performance scenes with others filmed in more private locales, Mann imbues *Poetry* with a compelling rhythm and the kaleidoscopic colors of an oriental tapestry. In Toronto a box-shaped set of rough wooden slats was constructed,

taste enough had writing to make discerning listeners uncomfortable, many of the poets seem to speak consciously to a wider audience, treating their work as a kind of pop lyric.

Mann's well-crafted, fast-moving film deserves a wide audience, but already his attempts at distribution have run into some snags. Audrey Cox, head of program acquisitions at C-Channel, Ontario's new cable-oriented pay TV service, told him they could not accept his film because it was "too intelligible." The rebuff was "cruelly," Mann insists. "They don't want to take the initiative which is supposed to be their mandate. They are treating neither film-makers nor audiences." Still, *Poetry in Motion* will probably be at least as successful as *Freeway*, the found (which is about to beak) because of its commercial distribution, bookings by colleges and libraries and prospective sales to television networks.

Mann began his film apprenticeship when he was 12, after an aunt presented the would-be director with a super-8 movie camera. "I did a lot of low-budget films," Mann recalls, "and my father's wedding is a classic." In his last years and early 30s he produced eight shorts before *Because the Sound* brought him wide public recognition.

Though film-making is the central passion of his life, Mann often laments the time spent bookkeeping and reading up investors. "It's someone wonder how I have time to pick up my camera." And money is a problem. He had to sell his car in order to help finance *Poetry* and he lives on \$100 a week. Yet, with no funds in place, Mann already is taking aim at his next film, a documentary on Toronto's Court House Press. After that he plans a drama. Indeed, visions of future films are dancing in Mann's head. If those fall the early promise of *Because the Sound* and *Poetry in Motion*, Canadian cinema will have found itself a major strength for the years to come.

—JOHN BERRIDGE



Mann: dynamic poetry combined with considerable film-making skills

## Four strangers in a strange land

MOONLIGHTING

Directed by Jerzy Skolimowski

*Moonlighting* is an unassuming, stirring story of displaced people, given an immediacy by Poland's recent, and history. The film is yet another reminder that, as George Steiner has noted, the 20th century is a "century of refugees." Four Polish workmen, led by the take-no-prisoners Nowak (Jerzy Irons), travel to London to pursue a wealthy Pole's takeover. Their labor is cheap, and the four men are grateful for the work. However, shortly after they arrive in this strange country (only Nowak speaks English), Poland imposes martial law and endures solidarity. Rather than making the others miserable by telling them, Nowak keeps the news to himself. What they don't know won't hurt them.

Loosely speaking, the men in *Moonlighting* are refugees. The movie is as poetically effective because it was made

*Moonlighting, made by Polish director Jerzy Skolimowski, is a painfully effective look at the anonymous refugee*

by an exiled Pole, Jerzy Skolimowski, who has been living in London for some time and making movies there (*Deep End, The Shout*). London has seldom looked as cold and forbidding as it does in this movie—the way it must have seemed to Skolimowski when he arrived. "I can speak their language but I don't really know what they mean," Nowak says to himself.

Nowak says a lot of things to himself. Reassured and more resourceful than the other men but a green, grumpy outsider in the rest of the city, he is alone in a way nobody else is in the movie, even to be life is guilty about not telling the other men the truth and, at the same time, feels responsible for them. When the money allotted for both living and bedding begins to run out, he takes to smoking from a supermarket to feed the group. At night he lies around the neighborhood leaving down solidarity posters to keep them together. The men become suspicious of his behavior and slowly they turn against him.

Everything about London and its people in *Moonlighting* is hostile, from the weather on down. When Nowak's hap-



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from, the humiliation of surviving

cle is stolen, he steals the one best door (Skolimowski's homage to Shogun's Parrot) and makes it over. Like the postwar Indian surrealists, monks, Skolimowski has a haunting frame of reference, the humiliation people sometimes suffer just surviving. The scenes in the supermarket are unbearably poignant. As from scenes set in India, good he has the same absurd look Paul Sharp had in *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, when he is asked, "What do you do?" and he replies, "I steal."

Fear and anxiety play with great conviction on Jeremy Irons' face. The performance is deftly modulated. It has to be—Skolimowski shoots him in intense close-up much of the time. So anxious to have gratified by Nowak's confusion and desperation with a genuine concern—until the damage he kept from his role in both *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Brideshead Revisited*. As the three innocents in his charge, Eugene Lipinski, Art Stanculov and Eugénie Bickiewicz are pitifully anonymous, suggesting a face shared by many.

As the men walk to Heathrow Airport with their luggage stuffed into shipping carts, Nowak reveals his secret and tells them about what has happened to Poland. Skolimowski has the perspective and taste to pull back his camera for a wonderful lingering shot—sharply outlined figures striding into the rising morning mist, waving their arms wildly in astonishment and anger. Earlier, there is a sexually menacing scene in a dimly lit corner, and a cat, using her, arches her back and howls. The shot seems to come out of nowhere but it captures, with brevity, just what it is like to be a stranger in a strange land.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

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## The shell of former glory

VERONIKA VOSS  
Directed by Rainer Werner Fassbinder

**M**ovies, says the burnt-out movie star in *Veronika Voss*, are nothing but "light and shadow." She associates this with the haunter of a boo-boo who thrives she still in Veronika Voss (Rosi Zech) in her a shadow herself, a shell of her former glory, stumbling about from one morphine-induced state to another, waiting for pain and the shot to fix it and the pain again. When a sports reporter named Robert (Helmut Thiele) offers her his umbrella in the rain, she is touched, like Blanche Dubois in *A Streetcar Named Desire*, by the intimacy. A little later, on a trolley, drenched like a water rat, she averts her face from the other passengers, fearing they will recognize her. The pathetic joke is that nobody will, but Veronika Voss has her pride, if not a full deck.

Rainer Werner Fassbinder's penalty:

*With Veronika Voss,  
Fassbinder once again  
repented for Germany's  
economic recovery  
after the war*

cast movie presents his version of Marlene Dietrich. From *Seven Years Bad Luck*, and she is not quite real. Grand and ludicrous though she may have been, Marlene Dietrich, embodied by Gloria Swanson, was a flesh-and-blood creation, and women responded to the woman, not merely her situation. The character of Veronika Voss is more situation than woman: she is actually the German spirit after the Second World War, exploited and broken by the moviegoers. Everything in *Veronika Voss* attempts to make a single point, one already made in the two previous statements of a trilogy: *The Marriage of Maria Braun* and *Lola*. Germany should be brought back to itself for its marvellous economic recovery from the war.

Veronika has signed over everything she has to Dr. Katz (Annette Drenner), with whom she also has a rather flimsy defined lesbian relationship. Katz and her assistant, Joseph (Doris Schade), who she's married, is the manager of a *Toucan* bar. Drenner, apply



Zech, the broken spirit of Germany

the same exorcism tactics to their other patients with nervous disorders, including an incest couple who has barely survived the concentration camps. When Fassbinder wanted to show a woman lesbian he did not kid around. Katz even murders to protect her own interests.

There are two aspects of Germany in this movie, the food one being past, perfect Veronika. "Let me play the tramp's mother," she begs an agent. Veronika Voss is a small scene in a movie (called *Blue Sky*, for those interested in any way) and has to rely on glitzy live props (and "tramp's mother") to finish it. Then there is Katz, the prehistory and sexual spirit that remained after the Holocaust and was never really eradicated. It is as if Fassbinder, repeating with this trilogy, had never heard of the Nuremberg trials.

Shot in silver black and white and trampled all around with guilt, Veronika Voss spins Fassbinder's curious camera, seeking out reflections in mirrors and all available angles of a face. Fassbinder's technique slips during his last few movies from the poised to the poised. Style has overtaken subject. And the subject has taken over the actress. As the movie queen, Rosi Zech is not powerful enough, but what screen could be totally successful playing an entire country? By the time poor Veronika has gone through interminable permutations of light and shadow and is ready to end it all with pills, the audience is ready to meet the poor girl's glass of water.

—LAURENCE OTTOLE

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## The illustrated hit

The regulars at Toronto's *Nuts* and *Boots* bar, like many Canadiana, are given to dowsing their beer with a little television on the side—actually, on one of nine overhead screens. However, the familiar figures of Guy Laker and Wayne Gretzky—the icons of Canadiana barrooms—are not in view. Instead, the crowds are tuning in the exotic fare of such bands as New Wave Wars, Spandau Ballet and The Stranglers. The new medium is rock video, an extraordinary hybrid of two of the most potent cultural forces of the postwar world, rock'n'roll and television.

As the major fall record releases reach the stores this month, everyone, from such established performers as fully fledged and Rush to emerging groups such as the Spoons and Trio, is discovering that fortifying their image on videotape is as salacious in an indispensable marketing tool. *News* as "beauty clips" in the music industry, the tapes—or videos—are usually produced by record companies and then distributed free to bars, record stores and television

outlets. In the United States the 24-hour-a-day rock video network, MTV, is the fastest-growing service in the U.S. cable industry. In Canada a syndicated television show, *The New Music*, regularly features rock videos and is seen in 11 cities, from Calgary to St. John's. And an increasing number of video discs and bars are converting to video in an attempt to recapture lost crowds.

Rock videos cost between \$25,000 and \$40,000 to produce and usually feature one song, laced with extravagant visual effects. The result is as slick and affecting as the best of television commercials. The British band ABC makes a typical leap of imagination in one clip: the lead singer turns 180 degrees and floats around desperately in a champagne glass trying to avoid a large pair of hovering female lips. "You do everything right to the beat," says Bob Quarty, director of the latest video by the Spoons, a young band from Burlington. One "A woman's head turns right on the beat, or there's a crash, and you zoom into her eyes. You feel that in the music."

The visceral assault is well suited to the barroom, and for some clubs the screening of an exotic foreign band on tape can rival a live concert as an event. Club Domino in Toronto, a former disco, frequently draws capacity crowds of 150 patrons with "David Bowie nights" and "Heavy Music nights," featuring videos of these immensely popular, highly sexual acts. For more obscure bands that have trouble getting radio play, video is an ideal medium for building a following. The Stranglers, an English band, have had only minimal radio play and poor record sales in Canada, but the impact of their videos at *Nuts* and *Boots* is so strong that they can now draw 1,500 fans for each of two shows at \$10 a ticket when they play the city.

Video offers an inexpensive alternative to bands for lounge owners, many bars use the medium to supplement live performers. "You will never replace live music," says Chris Nissen, a performer in a company that supplies live Montreal bars with The Video Show, a compilation of clips provided over by a female "voo-jay." "Whether it's a club set or a stadium gig, you will never attain that live feel. You cannot possibly duplicate it as a two-dimensional, reduced image."

That image, though, is natural on television screens at home. At a time



*Nuts and Boots video bar: an indispensable marketing tool for rock musicians*

when other cable networks in the United States have folded or are experiencing financial distress, MTV has expanded to 625 affiliates in less than two years and expects to reach 10 million subscribers by January. Described as a "radio station with pictures," the network is stealing the 18- to 34-year-old listeners from FM radio. "People are coming home after day's work or after school and switching on the set," says

John Sykes, MTV's director of programming. "They walk around and get a beer and a sandwich, and the TV is background." According to Sykes, the average viewer watches an hour of rock video clips on weekdays and 90 minutes on weekends. The bar has attracted almost 300 advertisers, who are expected to pour \$7 million to \$9 million into MTV this year. As well, bands exposed on MTV have experienced in-

creased album sales of between eight and 30 per cent.

While some bars in northern Canada pick up the MTV signal on illegal satellite dishes, the main broadcasting conduit for rock video in this country is *The New Music*. Now in its fourth season, the syndicated music magazine show originating from Toronto's CMTV-TV built its following by interspersing the latest video clips with interviews and short documentaries on a variety of bands. However, producer John Martin finds the product less exciting. "Most of the material we were gathering in the beginning was from England," he says. "They were low-budget clips but incredibly innovative. People ignored the idea that you had to have enormous amounts of money and just went out and did it."

Whether the initial investment is mentioned in rock video may depend on who is in charge. Several well-respected audio artists—Peter Dinklage, Todd Rundgren, Lou Reed and Kevin Godley—have already taken to the small screen. While this is an encouraging sign, much of the music industry sees rock video only as a promotional vehicle. "There are so many rules now," says Sykes. "Where a given depends on where we take it. It could reach new heights of creativity or it could become like AM radio." —STEPHEN LEE in Toronto.



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# THEATRE

## Daughters of revolution

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

By Maria Gulland  
Directed by Paul Birtus

What is to be Done? is the first play by Maria Gulland, the Canadian expatriate who was last year's Governor General's Award for Fiction. It is also the title of Lenin's classic work proposing that a Communist party guide the proletarian revolution. A copy of this tract becomes a precious possession for Jenny (Doris Goodland) and Molly (Margot Duncan), two young Communist sympathizers living in Montreal during the Second World War. Ironically, the object of their worship is in Russia, and the impossibility of cultural translation is the broader theme upon slow disillusionment and a gradual acceptance of covert private careers, in Jenny's words, "So, cutty doesn't need communism—it should just be a bit more realistic."

Director Paul Birtus' staging of this Tarragon Theatre production perfectly matches Gulland's whimsical, ironic. Aided by Sue LaPage's space, evocative sets and Harry Frenkel's sensual lighting, Birtus opens these "natural daughters of Karl Marx and Queen Victoria" on a whole spectrum of party-indulgent messengers, utopian dreams and wilting grandeur for the heroes of Stalinism, who turn out to be disguised apparitions from the Soviet Komsomol. Jenny is the quintessential earnest camp, harping herself against life's belated impossible ideals until the day brings social criticism, a realism of reality and a monumental hangover. Molly is a young war bride ("bare, faithful"), who finally realizes that in 1946 is the moment to take to the parachute after the war have landed in the cornfields. Hearing an excellent cast, Goodland and Duncan expertly portray their engaging friendship.

What is to be Done? is ambitious, invigorating and blessed with a quirky rhythm which continually employs in-direction to find direction out. Its generous servings of language are especially appreciated, but at times the play is too long, and a week of the second act is redundant. However, with Gulland returning to Canada next year, What is to be Done? still presents a welcome talking card and an accomplished theatre debut.

—MARK CRAWFORD



Brookes: a dose of militant socialism

## Opting for an honorable death

For the past year government freedom of access spending have been taking a visible toll. Last week in Newfoundland the province's oldest theatre company, the Mommers Troupe, joined Quebec's Festival Les Amis, Toronto's Open Circle Theatre and the 5100 Company among the ranks of the defunct Mommers' co-founder Chris Brookes, whose militant socialism set the tone for the company's "community documentaries" or such words stress as the real heart (They Call Us, Don't They?) and the 11th hour of the day (Somebody). And the Mommers' on Canada Council policies, not lack of popular support. "Funding bodies believe art occupies one pole and politics another," says Brookes. "But the more controversial a show, the better the public likes it."

The Mommers have been in decline for several years, however. In 1975 the company acquired a leasehold on a union hall but promptly relinquished control in 1986 to a community arts committee which claimed that the Mommers were excluding other artistic groups from using it to the best advantage. Recently, under artistic director Rhonda Payne, the troupe aimed what was to be a production company (that sponsored late environmental shows, such as Molly's Time with the Yanks, set in wartime St. John's). But extra money for future projects was not forthcoming. Says Brookes: "Rather than produce middle-of-the-road shows with limited social relevance, we opted for an honorable death." Whatever the post-mortem, Newfoundland has lost a major theatrical resource.

—RANDOLPH JOYCE

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# The female sex in public life

By Allan Fotheringham

There are jobs in London, as you know, three times as old as this colorful country. Canada, little more than a century old, is not that far from the frontier. For all the Puz Man games in the supermarket places, and still reflects the primitive values of stamp and soil. It's why we're so far behind in the realm of regarding the female sex in public life. The second-largest population on Earth can trust Indira Gandhi to run India's affairs. The most endangered country on Earth, Israel, can put its fortunes in the hands of a Golda Meir. Ben Lurie and Israel, as they have done, can elect female presidents. Fastly old Britain can put the fire-breathing Maggie Thatcher in charge. But Canada, still untroubled in its image of glamour and the pious, has never been able to grasp the idea of women in politics very seriously.

This is why the nomination of upper-middle-class Canadians, engaged in the Liberal party, was of interest for only one reason: its misadventure in Ottawa's Chateau Laurier. There was no selection in reality in the designated female obsession to Pierre Elliott Trudeau, a man now not trusted by the country's voters. The cautious posturing of John Turner and Don Macdonald in the succession stakes has become a bit wary. The only new factor, and the only innovative one, was that for the first time we have not just one, but two, females who are preparing themselves for a serious race. The fifty isolation look down as prime minister of Canada. The most intriguing aspect of the Liberal convention was not just Iona Campagnolo's kidnapping of the presidency of the party but Judy Erol's attempts to block her. The full Canadian male is going to have enough trouble unrecognizing the concept of a woman trying for the top job in the land, his brain (not to mention other threatened parts of his anatomy) cannot conceive of two top contenders.

The only real reason for the Liberal convention was to see if Judy Erol, current Alice Fotheringham is a columnist for *Saskatoon News*.

female star of the Trudeau cabinet, could block the upward rise of Iona Campagnolo, the past female star of the Trudeau cabinet. Campagnolo's opponent, of course, in her late rush for the presidency, was incumbent Norman Macdonald, a rare man who toils for his bread as a vice president of Household Finance in Toronto and whose major sin is that it is suspected that he once smiled at Turner at a cocktail. Guess who nominated Macdonald at the convention? None other than Judy Erol. Pure coincidence, of course.

In the race of feminism and the re-

forms can devote all their time to the struggle some family.

As chance would have it, Iona and Judy prepare for their showdown on the slippery pole both unconsidered. Campagnolo has been long disowned. Erol has been a widow for some half dozen years, her husband a heart attack victim. Iona's two daughters are grown up and out of the coop. Judy's two daughters are grown up and out of the coop. The mothers are both full-time politicians and, now that Campagnolo is the party president, both for the first time in Ottawa and facing one another.

Iona Campagnolo, who enters a room as if horse on an Egyptian chariot, rose through breeding and the civic political arena of the rough northern British Columbia town of Prince Rupert and became an MP in 1974. As minister of finance and assistant speaker she promoted herself and bowed her body around the world. My mother says it's a lucky remark, but I cannot tell a 36, she has the fattest body of any 30-year old I know. She was defeated in 1975, and the 1980 election thrust forth Judy Erol, who comes from the rough Ontario town of Sudbury. Iona, an early participant in the women's networking system, was the attractive female star of the Liberal cabinet just when feminist issues came to play. Judy has dropped into that role, taking over the Status of Women responsibilities from the unfortunate Lloyd Axworthy.

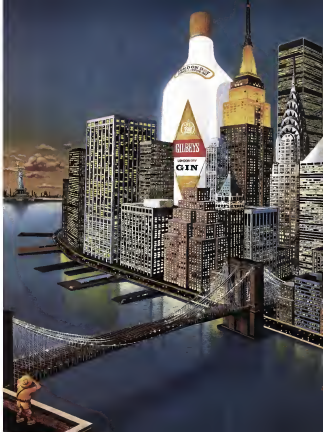
Campagnolo is 56, Erol 48. Iona, fawning dark eyes, partly through her husband's death, regards the design of a fiery Latin temperament though she is actually English in background. Judy, northern blonde, who enters the Commons each day looking as if she has just emerged from a sauna, has the frost-bitten person of her Finnish background and handles admirably the rough man's portfolio of finance.

John Turner is getting older. Don Macdonald is being shoved into the boredom of a royal commission. Jean Chrétien is trapped in being a bromophone trying to follow a transomophone. Only Iona and Judy can provide any response. They are in a head-to-head duel. Watch for it. I'm only trying to help.



turing of the country, there is the feeling rising that the females of the land must their own candidate for the top spot—if not to win, simply to establish the goals and constraints and aspirations of the underdog, discriminated-against half of the country. There obviously can be only one credible feminist candidate when the Liberal leadership comes open. John knows that Judy knows that. Hence, we have a problem.

There are other coincidences. In an age when politics is all-consuming, it is a clear advantage when you are without family ties, when you can devote your whole self to the task. You're one up on those who have a mate and struggling children to contend with and satisfy. The *Saturday Evening Post* says of a happy family surrounding the candidate no longer applies. Roscoe Reagan was the first divorced president. The single Teddy Kennedy is still running hard for reelection. The late Pierre Trudeau hatches on, just as his single compatriots Allan MacEachern and Jimmy





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